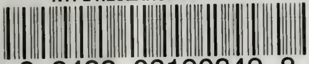
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SKETCHES OF SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES OF GREATER BOSTON

Sketches of Some Historic Churches of Greater Boston

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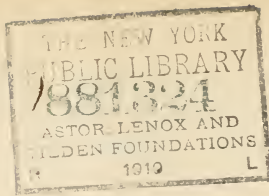

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PREFACE

In recognition of the fact that April, 1916, marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding, by James Freeman Clarke, of the Church of the Disciples, our Alliance Branch took for its program that year a survey of the history of some of the churches of Greater Boston, to close with the history of our own church.

So far as possible, appropriateness was considered in assigning the churches to our Alliance members. This is immediately recognized in Miss Eva Channing's preparing the paper on the Arlington Street Church, Mrs. Christopher Eliot's on Bulfinch Place Church, and Mrs. Clara Bancroft Beatley's on the Church of the Disciples.

These papers make no pretense to being complete; most are compilations, but all are readable and interesting. Practically all were read at the church about which they were written, and some at many others. It is in response to a quite large demand that the papers be printed together that the present volume appears.

As making the story more complete, three sketches have been added to the original group—an account of the Disciples School and of Mr. and Mrs. Eliot's long connection with Bulfinch Place Church, both modestly omitted by the writers on those churches, and the history of the First Church in Cambridge, kindly given by Mrs. Gerould.

Katharine Gibbs Allen.

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UNITARIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND*

STRICTLY speaking, the Unitarian movement in New England began after the Great Awakening in 1735. It was not a secession, as in England, but a gradual growth from the Congregational order. When the Puritans at Plymouth, Boston, and Salem broke with the traditional authority of church and state and established their own private judgment of God's Word in the Bible as their guide, when they bound themselves together by covenants and not by creeds, the seeds of liberalism were planted which afterwards bore the fruit of Unitarianism.

The three pioneer churches mentioned above, all now Unitarian, exist to-day under their original covenants. That of Plymouth is typical and reads: "We do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, avouch the Lord Jehovah, the only true God, to be our God and the God of ours; and do

*A Resumé of Some Chapters of Joseph Henry Allen's "An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation."

promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and watchfulness over one another, depending wholly upon the Lord our God to enable us by his grace hereunto." They were to walk together according to the rule of the gospel, but each is left free to interpret that rule for himself.

The aim of Winthrop and his friends in coming to Massachusetts, says John Fiske, was the construction of a theocratic state which should be to Christians under the New Testament dispensation all that the theocracy of Moses and Joshua and Samuel had been to the Jews in Old Testament days. In such a scheme there was no room for religious liberty. The Puritans were, perhaps, bigoted and intolerant, but for my part I am devoutly grateful that they stood for their ideals so steadfastly that they furnished the religious leaven of our whole American life. It is rather the fashion now to say that they came to Massachusetts to secure religious liberty for themselves and denied it to others. This statement shows an entire misunderstanding of them and of their motives. Bigoted they were, but inconsistent they never were.

There was a body of doctrine, largely Calvinistic, which was generally if not universally accepted by the Colonial churches, and infringements of this were punished. Anne Hutchinson was banished for insisting upon an exaggerated form of the doctrine of the Free Spirit, a foreshadowing of transcendentalism. The period of banishment and persecution went by, in that form, with the passing of the witchcraft delusion.

In 1680 a synod of elders and delegates representing the five New England Colonies met in Boston and drafted a Confession of Faith. It could not, however, be imposed upon the churches, who accepted what they pleased of it and incorporated it with their covenant.

Before the Revolution there was more fear for the secularizing of church life than for doctrinal heresy. With the advent of the Royal Governors there were new distinctions of rank and an increased circulation of English books, including those of Thomas Emlyn, amiable victim and sufferer of that day for the Unitarian faith. Great freedom of opinion in the churches came about partly owing to the form of their covenants and partly to the fact that political questions were so much more vital and absorbing than theological ones, particularly

as events and feelings strengthened for the impending revolution. Such discussion as there was turned largely upon the Atonement and not upon the Trinity.

It was said that just before the Revolution "it might be said that every man of very wide and strong influence in public life, with possibly the exception of Samuel Adams, 'last of the Puritans,' from Benjamin Franklin, the friend of Lindsey and of Priestley, to Thomas Jefferson, was a confirmed disbeliever in the Puritan theology."

There were vigorous protests against this laxity by Cotton Mather, and especially by Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, under whose powerful influence occurred the Great Awakening of 1735, which is thought to have led the way, through reaction to its extravagances, to the liberal theology which followed. So quickly did this come about that George Whitefield, the English revivalist who came to assist Edwards, at the end of his first visit gave a farewell discourse on Boston Common to a crowd of 20,000 eager listeners. Six years afterwards Edwards was driven by the reaction which took place to an exile among the Indians at Stockbridge. In 1754, upon

Whitefield's third visit to Boston, he could not get an audience.

A new gospel of reason was being preached by Jonathan Mayhew of the West Church, the boldest preacher of his day. Joseph Henry Allen says that Charles Chauncy of the First Church was the intellectual leader of this period, but Mayhew was its effective champion. Religious thought was broadened more widely in Massachusetts by commerce than by controversy, however. Some of the most prominent citizens of the settlements, notably of Salem, were connected with commerce, that great liberalizer. They were quick to be impressed by contact with the old world civilizations with a broad tolerance for alien faiths.

One of the chief events of this period was the act of the proprietors of King's Chapel by which the first Episcopal Church in New England became the first Unitarian Church in America. In 1785, prepared beforehand by a course of lectures given by their lay reader, Mr. Freeman, the church voted to strike out from the service whatever teaches or implies the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Freeman, soon afterwards ordained as minister, became an active propagandist of the Unitarian doctrine.

For the next twenty years the current of liberalism broadens, but, although in Boston only one in nine ministers of the Congregational order could be said to be orthodox, and in Plymouth County only one out of twenty, as yet there was no break with the Congregational order. This was for two reasons. The churches appreciated to the full the advantages of being members in good standing of an established order, and they honestly distrusted English Unitarianism and did not choose to wear its name. Priestley's "Materialism" was an object of dread to them. They were called lukewarm by their more outspoken English sympathizers.

This period of neutrality was broken by the appointment of Henry Ware, Jr., as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College in 1805. Followed, as it was, by four other liberal appointments within the next two years, it made Harvard the headquarters of intellectual and religious liberalism in America. This raised a storm and resulted in the establishment of Andover Theological Seminary, whose orthodoxy is protected by the periodical signing of its creed by each of its instructors. The liberal party, however, were and are justly tenacious of their right of membership in the

historic Congregational order, and in Massachusetts this has never been denied them.

Two sharp shocks now broke the uneasy truce so studiously kept. The first was the publication of Belsham's "Life of Lindsey," which in its chapter on "American Unitarianism" gave correspondence between New England liberals and English Unitarians, showing a much closer alliance between the two movements than had been admitted. The liberals were now compelled to take the name Unitarian. This they did with reluctance, but the immediate effect of this step was to awaken in them a sense of courage and of strength.

The second was the decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1820, that "when the majority of the members of a Congregational church shall separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." This decision was bitterly resented for it seemed to lend the hand of the law to help the liberal party.

The general results of this period are best given in the words of Lyman Beecher who came to Park Street Church in 1823 to strengthen the cause of orthodoxy. He writes:

"All the literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarian; all the trustees and professors of Harvard College were Unitarian; all the elite of wealth and fashion crowded Unitarian Churches; the judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of church organization so carefully ordered by the Pilgrim Fathers had been nullified, and all the power had passed into the hands of the congregation."

At the installation of Jared Sparks in Baltimore in 1819, Channing preached his epoch-making sermon which clarified the Unitarian position and showed them exactly where they stood. He dealt with the unreason of the Trinity, the confusion of Christ's double nature, the conflict of justice and mercy in the Divine nature, the moral enormity of the Atonement, and the true nature of salvation as being a moral or spiritual condition of the soul. It gave no positive doctrine. The great impression it made was not on account of its argument but on account of its positive and aggressive tone and its total lack of apology. Thenceforth it became the keynote for Unitarianism.

From this time on, the break between Unitarian and Trinitarian was gradually wid-

ening. The orthodox position was greatly strengthened by the coming of Lyman Beecher to "Brimstone Corner" and by the years of orthodox revival which followed. But the Unitarians were well satisfied with the undisputed social and political ascendency they possessed and which was so well described by Dr. Beecher.

Channing's theology was not doctrinal, but rather a law of life making character a fundamental requirement. It had a particular appeal for the best minds of New England and those who embraced it made a group which was and is the glory of Boston. The names of Adams, Quincy, Bigelow, Shaw, Lowell, Prescott, Holmes, Howe, Longfellow, Mann, Dix, and Tuckerman are names of which our church is justly proud. They show perhaps, says Mr. Allen, not so much the power of the Unitarian faith as the soil and atmosphere in which it thrived.

In 1832, when the heat of the first controversy was dying out, came the the first open break with the old congregational order. Ralph Waldo Emerson who had been three years pastor of the Second Church, resigned his charge on the refusal of his church to discontinue the Communion Service or to radi-

cally change it. In his farewell sermon he showed that he did not object to the service as a service, but that he did object to its being considered a sacrament and that he did object to its customary form. This address was a shock even to many Unitarians to whom the service was precious and by whom it was accepted without question. Six years later he delivered the most celebrated and influential of all his public discourses to the graduating class of the Harvard Divinity School. "This," says Joseph Henry Allen, "was the frankest challenge ever yet thrown down to the traditional views of the Divine Nature, Jesus, Christianity, or the office of the church; and it proved the melodious, effective prelude to a conflict of opinion that has far more deeply than any other stirred the current of religious thought."

Controversy was now in the air and a great discussion began, largely in print. This, though open to the public, was mostly to scholars, critics, and students of theology. But in 1841, at another ordination, that of the Rev. Charles C. Shackford of South Boston, Theodore Parker preached another epoch-making sermon when he preached on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity." This brought

the most radical questions of critical theology directly before the popular mind, and appealed them to popular judgment and withal, confidently and religiously. The miracles of Jesus were brought to the level of an ordinary magician's and his virgin birth was compared to that of Hercules, son of Jove.

The effect of this address was an immediate rending of the ranks of Unitarians themselves. "Now we have a Unitarian orthodoxy," was Channing's comment in anticipation of the debate which followed.

To the work of tearing down the supernatural and of preaching "pure religion," as he saw it, Theodore Parker gave the next fifteen years of his life and even that life itself. The angry prejudice aroused by his frank and sometimes needless affronts pushed him into a prominence and influence that no denominational boundaries could permit. Channing was in doubt whether to call Parker a Christian though he esteemed him as a friend.

The great upheaval within Unitarianism itself, which Parker brought about, did not, as was expected, divide the body but it did cause the withdrawal of many younger and brighter minds and it weakened the unity and consequent strength of the body. It freed Uni-

tarianism forever, however, from bondage to old ideas and traditions.

With the death of Parker, the dramatic and picturesque in the history of Unitarianism in New England passes.

A great change in Unitarian thought was brought about by the study of the writings of Darwin and Spencer and by the philosophical writings of Frederick Henry Hedge.

But Unitarianism has always been a movement towards a larger intellectual and religious life, free from all restraints imposed upon it by doctrinal systems, and many of its followers have been unwilling to press its acceptance upon others. So it has come about that this work has often been done by those who have come to it in maturity and from other communions. These have felt, more than those to whom it was a birthright, the value of a freedom purchased sometimes at a great price.

Speaking of present day Unitarianism, Rev. O. B. Frothingham says: "The new Unitarianism is neither sentimental nor transcendental nor traditional. It calls itself Unitarian simply because that name suggests freedom and breadth and progress and elasticity and joy.

Another name might do as well, perhaps be more accurately descriptive. But no other would be so impressive, or on the whole so honorable."

KING'S CHAPEL

For fifty years the Puritans in New England tried their experiment in theocracy unmolested. Then Charles II., feeling himself secure on the throne, annulled the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, appointed Joseph Dudley President of all New England, virtually a royal governor, and determined to establish the Church of England in Boston. In the month of May, 1686, came the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe from London to have charge of an Episcopal church in Boston. His reception could hardly be said to be cordial. The people of Boston hated anything savoring of Episcopacy, for they dreaded it as an opening wedge to the establishing over them of the civil and religious despotism which had borne so hard upon them in England. "The foundation of an Episcopal church in Boston," says Howard Brown, "was about as welcome as a pest house would be in a thickly settled community."

Mr. Ratcliffe on his arrival attempted to secure one of the meeting houses of the town for his use. There were three societies, all flourishing and strong,—the First, Second and Third—this latter, now known as the Old

South, was a split from the other two and the strongest of all. Not one of them would give its building for the use of the church, so the library of the Town House, standing where the Old State House now stands, was taken, and there the Episcopal service was first publicly read in Boston. A goodly crowd came, partly through curiosity, but there was of the congregation also a good number of substantial persons, as was shown by their definitely organizing the next month, so that June 15, 1686, may be reckoned the birthday of King's Chapel. The new church grew at the rate of six or seven baptisms a week, and, soon outgrowing the Town House, began to raise money for a building of its own. In December came Governor Andros, the first fully commissioned Royal Governor. He was a tremendous accession to the ranks of the Episcopalians.

He sent almost immediately for the ministers of the three Congregational churches and demanded one of them for his society. They took two days to consider his demand, then returned to say that they could not give him any one of them. Three months later the Governor decided upon the Old South, and when the prominent laymen of this body

showed him that they owned the property and that they proposed to occupy it themselves, he got hold of the sexton and took his keys. The following Friday, Good Friday, the bell was rung, and Mr. Ratcliffe proceeded to read the regular morning service in the Governor's presence. The usurpation begun at this time lasted two years. Governor Andros probably took some satisfaction in leaving the Old South congregation in the street to wait for the long service and the long sermon to be finished before they could have their church, but after a while he relented and fixed the liturgical service at such an hour that the rightful owners could have it before noon.

Meanwhile steps were taken to provide the society with a building of its own, but no one of its members owned land suitable for the church, and no Congregationalist would sell them any. Andros again interfered, and when money enough was raised the Governor's Council set apart a corner of the burying ground as a place where it might be erected. The foundation was laid there in 1688, and there King's Chapel has been ever since.

Public service was first held June 30, 1689, in a wooden building erected on the spot, the society being three years old. The wooden

structure resembled somewhat the present one, only it was smaller. The pews were of the same fashion, but surmounted by a railing with a curtain attached, making the divisions between the pews higher than now. The pulpit and communion table were the same that are in use in the present church, so the King's Chapel pulpit may claim to be the oldest in the country which has been in constant use.

Just as the new church was finished came, in England, the Revolution, which placed William of Orange on the throne, and the people of New England rose against Andros and put him, Mr. Ratcliffe and some of the prominent members of his congregation into the prison on Fort Hill, where the addition to the City Hall now stands. Here were imprisoned at different times the Quakers, the witches and the pirate Captain Kidd, and this is the prison described by Hawthorne in his "The Scarlet Letter." After nine months Andros, Ratcliffe and the King's Chapel parishioners were sent to England by Royal command.

The new Governor, Sir William Phipps, was decidedly of the Congregational way of thinking, and King's Chapel went into eclipse for a time. The ministers of the town thundered against it, and its windows were repeat-

edly broken. It is a wonder that it survived the storm. At this juncture the church owed much to Samuel Myles, who came to be its first real minister, and continued thirty-nine years in this office. He was a native of New England, a graduate of Harvard, and son of a Baptist minister. He had taught some years in Charlestown, and while there had probably come under the influence of Mr. Ratcliffe. He was lay reader for four years, then went to England, where he spent four years, partly in study at Oxford and partly soliciting help for his struggling flock. In this latter he was successful, for he enlisted the sympathy of the King and Queen. He brought back a Royal grant of a hundred pounds a year, furnishings for the chapel, books, and cushions, and carpets and altar cloths in goodly store. Even greater gifts from William and Mary soon followed him across the sea. First came a very handsome set of communion silver. This continued in use till another Royal patron proved still more munificent, when the first silver was in part distributed among other neighboring churches. A handsome flagon and cup were given to Christ's Church in Cambridge, where they may be seen duly in-

scribed as a gift from William and Mary "To their Majesties' Chapel in New England." The other gift from Royal bounty was a quite large theological library. During the Revolution the library was more or less scattered and lost. When the Boston Athenæum was established, what remained of it was given into the keeping of that institution. The books are great splendid folios, as fresh as when they first came from the press. Nobody ever has read them and probably nobody ever will.

Mr. Myles must have been a remarkable man. He held his own in the face of vituperation, and under his leadership the church held together and awaited calmer days. When Joseph Dudley came back as Royal Governor he tried to be of both parties. He took a place on the vestry of the chapel, but attended church in Roxbury. Governor Phipps was the last Governor to be actively hostile to King's Chapel. The officers of the Crown were afterwards partisans and champions of the Church of England service.

"The church lived, not without trial and friction . . . with steady increase of its influence. Sunday after Sunday a considerable part of the wealth and fashion of the town gathered within its doors. In outward ap-

pearance the congregation must have been somewhat brilliant. The uniforms of British officers contributed a goodly bit of color, and the escutcheons, or coat-of-arms, of knights and baronets connected with the Government were hung upon the pillars of the church. The pulpit, also, was covered with a scarlet cloth heavily draped about it. Those who belonged to the Royal party made a point of dressing in full court fashion, so that Mr. Myles's congregation, as he looked down upon it, must have presented itself to his eye in quite brave array.

The lame feature of the religious service during these years must have been the music. There was no organ anywhere in this country till Thomas Brattle, a liberal-minded merchant and the treasurer of Harvard College, imported one from England at his own expense. At his death, in 1713, he left this organ by will, first, to the church in Brattle Square, which had recently been built and was decidedly the most liberal of all the Congregational churches; but if that society did not accept the gift within a year, then the organ was to go to King's Chapel. It did not take the Brattle Square people anything like a year to make up their minds. Within two months the church

voted that, "with respect," they did not think it proper to use the same in the public worship of God." . . . So King's Chapel got the organ, which it received very thankfully.

The corner-stone of the Old North Church, the second Episcopal Church in Boston, was laid by Dr. Myles in 1723, and Dr. Cutler, who had exploded a bomb in the Congregational camp by resigning the Presidency of Yale College and announcing his conversion to the Episcopal faith, having been sent to England with money raised at King's Chapel, and there ordained, was appointed Rector. Dr. Myles died in 1727, after a long and successful ministry.

King's Chapel began now to show signs of the independence which afterwards made it one of our Unitarian churches.

The vestry was unwilling to put the matter of a successor to Dr. Myles into the hands of the Bishop of London, but decided rather to trust the matter to two friends of theirs in London. When these gentlemen consulted the Bishop, strange to say, he disclaimed the right of presentation to the vacant pulpit. Mr. Price, who had been a chaplain in the West Indies, was found, and his induction into office was very curious.

First, they all went into the church together. Then the vestrymen and the people withdrew, leaving Mr. Price alone in the church. The new minister then proceeded to lock himself in and to toll the bell. This having been done, he unlocked the door and received the people back, who wished him joy upon his having possession of the church.

The year following his arrival, Mr. Price was made Bishop's Commissary for these parts by virtue of which appointment he became a kind of overseer of all the Episcopal churches in New England, there being as yet no American bishop. King's Chapel had been enlarged and had added galleries to its building, and Christ Church was full. But most newcomers to the town were now of the Church of England faith, and there was need of further accommodation. April 15, 1734, the building of Trinity was begun, Mr. Commissary Price officiating at the laying of the corner-stone. The first rector of Trinity was Addington Davenport, who had been for some years assistant minister at King's Chapel.

Mr. Price had a rather stormy pastorate; once he was disciplined by the church, sent in his resignation, and had decided to return to England. His marriage to a Boston young

lady about this time decided him to stay. But when he wanted to withdraw his resignation he was made to sign a paper in which he promised to give up certain notions he held as to his right to govern church affairs.

Finally Mr. Price did resign. During two and a quarter centuries his letter stands upon the records as the only one ever offered and accepted. All its other ministers, save Mr. Ratcliffe, the founder of the church, and Mr. Caner, who deserted his post, have died in office.

After Mr. Price's resignation the church voted unanimously not even to consult the Bishop of London about a new rector, but themselves appointed Rev. Henry Caner, who had been rector of a church in Connecticut. He was inducted into office by the same ceremony that Mr. Price had employed.

Immediately upon his settlement plans were made for rebuilding. A subscription was started, headed by Governor Shirley and Sir Harry Frankland, with Peter Faneuil, the giver of Faneuil Hall, as treasurer. The problem was to get more land, for just back of the church stood the building of the Public Latin School. After three town meetings, slow and unwilling consent was given the King's Chapel

Society to take this lot if they would rebuild the school house on Bromfield Lane. This they did, but to satisfy the demands made they had to replace the wooden school house with a brick one a third larger and costing seventeen hundred pounds. Altogether, the small school house lot cost them $22,000.

During the building, which took five years, one account says they worshipped in Trinity, but another says that the new church was built to inclose the old, and that this was used all during the rebuilding.

In 1756 a new organ was brought over from England, bearing as ornaments the mitre and crown, which are still retained. There is a tradition that the organ was selected by the great musician Handel, who was a friend of the King's, but this is not a matter of history.

In 1768 a Bible was given to the church by Mrs. Elizabeth Rogers, which has lain upon the reading-desk ever since and is still in constant use. In 1772, just on the eve of the Revolution, a large and handsome set of communion silver was received from King George III., and the church passed a vote of thanks to Governor Hutchinson for his services in procuring the same.

The stone of the present church is Quincy granite, taken from the surface, as there was then no quarry. The architect, Peter Harrison, an Englishman, used the familiar church model of the eighteenth century, so that the visitor sees in the fashion of the interior, its rows of columns supporting the ceiling, the antique pulpit and reading desk, the mural tablets and the sculptured monuments that line the walls a pleasing likeness to an old London church.

In 1710, when the original wooden church was enlarged, as has been told, the exterior was embellished with a tower surmounted by a tall mast, halfway up which was a large gilt crown and at the top a weathercock. Within the chapel the Governor's pew, raised on a dais higher by two steps than the others, hung with crimson curtains and surmounted by the Royal Crown, was opposite the pulpit. Near the Governor's pew was one reserved for officers of the British army and navy. Displayed along the walls and suspended from the pillars were the escutcheons and coats-of-arms of the King, Sir Edmund Andros, Governors Burnet, Belcher, and Shirley, and other persons of distinction. At the east end was "the altar piece whereon was the Glory painted, the Ten

Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and some texts of Scripture."

Soon after the completion of the new church things began to shape themselves for the impending storm of the Revolution. The Episcopal congregations were perhaps more unanimous in their feeling that even heavier burdens should be borne rather than break with the Mother Country.

Then the storm broke. Through the days of Lexington and Bunker Hill and the siege following, King's Chapel pursued its way as best it could. It was a time of much distress in Boston, and Mr. Caner collected and administered a relief fund. At last came the unhappy morning when he was given only seven hours' notice of the impending evacuation. Gathering together what he could, he, with eighteen other clergymen, some thirty families belonging to the church and a numerous company of loyalists besides, embarked in one of the ships of the British fleet and set sail for Halifax. He took with him the record books of King's Chapel and all the communion silver. The books were afterwards in the main recovered; of the silver no sure trace has ever been found.

Without a minister, and with nearly half its

congregation in exile, the services of the church were suspended. The organization of the society was maintained, but the people attended church at Trinity, whose young minister, Mr. Parker, had decided to remain at his post. King's Chapel was called merely the Stone Chapel for some time after the Revolution. The mitre and crown disappeared from the organ, and it was not until well along into the next century that they were brought forth from hiding and restored to their rightful place.

The funeral of General Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, was held there April 8, 1776. During the remaining period of the war the church was offered to and occupied by the congregation of the Old South. Their church had been so maltreated by British officers when they used it for a riding school that it was unfit for use. This hospitality should have obliterated the memory of old wrongs if any such memory remained in the minds of the people of the Old South. After the Revolution the remnant of King's Chapel and of the Old South congregations were worshipping together in 1782.

The first century of the history of King's Chapel was rounded out by the most momen-

tous happening of all from the Unitarian standpoint—the selection by Thomas Bulfinch, a noted physician and father of the architect of the State House, who was Senior Warden of King's Chapel, of James Freeman as reader. Freeman belonged to the liberal wing in Boston, and spoke his mind freely in King's Chapel. The church began to flourish again. Pews of departed loyalists were sold to new owners.

But James Freeman had come into touch with Joseph Priestley's writings, and with the Rev. William Hazlitt, an English Unitarian living at that time in Boston; and after a year or two of study and reflection his ideas upon the Trinity had become so changed that he considered leaving the church. He visited many of his people and told them that much as he loved them he felt that he must part from them. They proposed that he preach a series of sermons explaining his views upon the Trinity, the Apostle's Creed, and other portions of the liturgy. This he did with sadness, feeling that these sermons would be his last in King's Chapel. When, however, a vote was later taken on the question of his remaining, the majority, ninety families, voted to alter the liturgy and to retain their pastor, while fifteen

families voted against it. Those who remained bought the pews of those who left, the liturgy was rewritten in all essential respects just as it is at present. But, though it "excluded all recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity as being erroneous and unscriptural, the congregation still continued to regard themselves as Episcopalians, and desired to remain in connection, if possible," with the other American Episcopal churches.

When the question of the ordination of James Freeman came up, no Episcopal bishop nor Congregational minister could be found who was willing to perform the ceremony, so the church itself ordained him as "Rector, Minister, Priest, Pastor, and Ruling Elder." Thus, almost unwittingly, did James Freeman become the pioneer of Unitarianism in New England.

Later he married a Mrs. Clarke, whose son, Samuel Clarke, became the father of James Freeman Clarke, another pioneer of liberalism in Boston. James Freeman Clarke grew up in his grandfather's home and loved and revered him tenderly.

Visitors to King's Chapel ask why the Episcopal service is used in this Unitarian church. They are told that when the land for the

church was taken by Andros there was a clause written into some agreement that if the Episcopal service should cease to be used in the church the land would revert to its original owners. This is one of those stories with which the student of history is familiar, a story invented to explain an unusual phenomena, and so plausible as to pass for truth. There is no foundation in fact for this one. The simple explanation of this circumstance is that James Freeman was so much beloved by his church and his opinion was so much respected that they made certain changes in the Liturgy to keep him as their pastor, and that they did not expect by so doing to cut themselves off from the Episcopal Church in America.

With Dr. Freeman ends the picturesque part of the sketch of King's Chapel. He had a long and honored ministry of fifty-two years. He was succeeded by Dr. Greenwood, a child of the Chapel, having been baptized by Dr. Freeman in his infancy. His pastorate and that of his successor, Rev. Ephraim Peabody, were comparatively short. Henry Wilder Foote, who held the pastorate for the next twenty-eight years, was greatly beloved by his congregation. After his death there was no regular minister for a few years, but the pulpit

was often filled by Dr. Andrew Preston Peabody. Rev. Howard N. Brown was installed in 1895, and Rev. Sydney B. Snow was settled, as associate minister, in 1912.

The dress of the minister of King's Chapel remains, as nearly as possible, exactly that which was worn by the Episcopal clergy of two hundred years ago. The traditions of which it speaks are that of great love for ancient manners and customs in religion, coupled with what aims to be a frank and fearless outlook upon all problems in the life of the present day.

Three Governors of Massachusetts have been chosen from the ranks of King's Chapel, Governor Shirley, appointed Royal Governor by the King in 1741, and Governors Wolcott and Draper.

President Eliot was brought up in this church, which his father served; he represents the sixth generation from Governor Joseph Dudley.

James Freeman Clarke as a youth belonged to King's Chapel, as did Francis Peabody, who, speaking at the two hundredth anniversary celebration, said: "When I look back as a child of this church and try to reckon its influence, my first impression is mingled and

confusing. Every early experience which I can confess of any sacredness or permanence or depth had its origin and its blessing here. The fundamental impression made by this church on at least one young life . . . was not made by its preaching, however eloquent, or by its architecture, however beautiful; but by the subtile atmosphere which has always prevailed here, of reverence, of piety, and of prayer. I thank God that I was born into a church which must be peculiarly described as worshipful."

ARLINGTON STREET CHURCH

[Federal Street Church]

The Society now known as the Arlington Street Church was founded in 1739 (Mr. Chadwick says 1729) by a group of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who met for a number of years in a meeting-house that was remodelled from an old barn, in what was called Long Lane. In 1786 the Society voted to adopt the Congregational mode of government, and later, at the beginning of the 18th century, through Channing's influence, it became Unitarian. Therefore William Ellery Channing performed for this church the same service that James Freeman did for King's Chapel, in liberalizing its faith for all time.

The little meeting-house became historic ground in 1788, when it was the meeting place of the State Convention, to ratify the Constitution of the United States. To commemorate this event, the name of the street on which it stood was changed by legislative act to Federal Street. It stood also on the corner of Berry Street, which gave the name to the "Berry Street Conference," held for the first time in Dr. Channing's study.

The first barn-like meeting-house was replaced in 1744 by a new building, which was nearly sixty years old when Channing succeeded to its pulpit. Mr. Channing describes it as "small, and phenomenally plain, bare, and ugly." The Federal Street church, with its high pulpit, a picture of which may be seen in the year book of the Arlington Street Church, was built in 1809. The present Arlington Street Church was not begun until 1860, or eighteen years after Channing's death. I mention this particularly, because many persons are under the mistaken impression that Dr. Channing actually preached in the present Arlington Street Church.

The first minister of the Society was John Moorhead, who preached from 1729 to 1773. During the ten years following, the period of the American Revolution, there was no settled minister. Then came Robert Annan, from 1783 to 1786. He was followed by the historian, Jeremy Belknap, who served the church from 1787 to 1798, and was founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His successor was John Snelling Popkin, 1799 to 1802. He left the church in an enfeebled condition; and casting about for a young man of promise to minister to their needs, the choice

of the Society fell upon the young Channing, who, despite his delicate health and retiring disposition, had already begun to show, by sermons preached here and there, the promise of future power. Although the young man of 23 had only begun to preach in the autumn of 1802, he had already attracted the attention of two congregations desiring a minister, and received, before the end of that year, an urgent invitation from two churches to become their pastor. The first invitation had come from the Brattle Street Church, a much larger and more flourishing Society than that in Federal Street, and his friends were, many of them, anxious that he should accept the more brilliant position. But Channing felt that he had not the necessary strength to undertake the charge of so large a pastorate, so decided in favor of the weaker Federal Street Church, accepting the call in February of 1803.

The following quaint "Letter Missive" was sent to the sister churches in the neighborhood inviting them to take part in the solemn service of ordination: "Honored and beloved: the Providence of God having preserved us in peace and unity during our destitute state, and having led us to the choice of William E. Channing, and him to accept of our united in-

vitation, we therefore request your presence and assistance by your pastor and delegates on Wednesday, the first day of June next, to join with other churches in solemnly separating him to the work of the ministry with us. We ask your prayers for him and for us, that he may come to us in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace."

Accordingly, Channing was installed on June 1, 1803, Dr. Tappan, the Harvard Professor of Theology, preaching the sermon, his uncle, Rev. Henry Channing of New London, giving the charge, and his beloved friend and classmate, Joseph Tuckerman, extending the right hand of fellowship. George Ticknor, who was present as a boy at the ceremony, speaks of the strong impression produced upon him by the pale, spiritual young clergyman, who, after his consecration, arose and announced the closing hymn. Tuckerman wrote years after: "His looks, the tones of his trembling voice, and devout air are still present to me whenever the scene comes up in my thoughts. After the hymn had been sung, he rose once more, and in the same tender and devout manner pronounced a simple benediction. In this, too, I see him still freshly be-

fore me, with his upcast eye, and remember thinking how spiritual he was."

Exactly one hundred years from this day, on June 1, 1903, the bronze statue of William Ellery Channing was unveiled opposite the Arlington Street Church, in the Public Garden. We have all heard how the Italian woman was discovered kneeling and saying her beads before this shrine, and many have thought that she might have made a worse choice of a saint!

Before I speak briefly of Dr. Channing's ministry in the Federal Street Church, it may be interesting to consider for a moment what a different Boston it was then from the city with which we are familiar. Mr. Chadwick, in his "Life of Channing," tells us that Boston then counted only 25,000 inhabitants, and had the general appearance of an old English market town. The sidewalks, as well as the streets, were paved with cobble-stones, and the only illumination by night was by means of a few oil lamps. Gentlemen of means wore colored coats and figured waistcoats, with knee-breeches and long white-topped boots, ruffled shirt-fronts, and the more elderly, cocked hats and wigs. On Saturday evenings the streets were full of boys carrying home piles of wig-

boxes, for the better observance of the Lord's Day. The social and intellectual life of the period did not measure up to Boston's later reputation, and Channing's congregation at the outset did not represent much of either wealth or culture. But the spiritual fervor and passionate earnestness of the new minister drew more and more auditors, so that in 1809 a much larger church had to be built.

All descriptions of Channing bear witness to his dignity and impressiveness when in the pulpit. One of his admirers, on being introduced to him, exclaimed in surprise: "I thought you were six feet tall!" He was in reality small in stature, thin and pale, with the hollow eye and sunken cheeks familiar to us in the Gambardella portrait, but with an expression of great delicacy, refinement and spiritualized beauty. His beloved nephew and biographer, William Henry Channing, writes of him: "On the polished brow, with its rounded temples, shadowed by one falling lock, and in the beaming countenance, there hovers a serenity which seems to brighten the whole head with a halo." Dr. Bartol says of his voice: "It was surely like none beside, having more in it of the violin than the flute, and with an habitual rising inflection, rather than cadence, at the end of the

sentence, which seemed to raise every hearer to the skies. There was a peculiar charm in his reading of the scriptures and hymns." But the real strength of his preaching lay, as Mr. Chadwick well expresses it, in his conviction of the reality of his message, and its importance to men's lives. What his central message was, throughout the many years of his pastorate, I have found more clearly expressed than elsewhere in the admirable sermon given by the present minister of the Arlington Street Church on the day preceding the unveiling of the statue. I can heartily commend the little book containing it to all those who wish a simple and clear statement of Channing's message to mankind. In his later life he spoke of it himself as his "one sublime idea," namely, "the greatness of the soul, its divinity, its union with God by spiritual likeness." More simply, he often called this thought "the dignity of human nature." This thought is so familiar to us now that it is hard to realize the excitement it caused when he uttered it, a century ago. To understand this, we must consider the prevalent Calvinistic theology of the period. When he spoke of *reverencing* human nature, he was in revolt against the doctrine of God that was taught in the churches of his day.

In his great Baltimore sermon, preached in 1819 (on "Unitarian Christianity"), he said: "We object to the systems of religion which prevail among us . . . that they take from us the Father in Heaven, and substitute for Him a being whom we cannot love if we would, and whom we ought not to love if we could." This was one of his few controversial sermons. Usually he opposed the gloomy ideas of Calvinism simply by unfolding his own beautiful message of the divinity of the human soul. Out of this conviction grew naturally a belief in immortality, for it seemed to him "as natural for virtue to live as for the animal to breathe"; he further says: "Virtue is the only thing in the Universe of the continuance of which I am sure, for it is of the very essence of God. Everything else may pass away; this cannot."

While it was necessary now and then to openly combat the prevalent theology, as he did with such effect in the Baltimore sermon, which was everywhere read and commented upon, I believe that the more purely spiritual and ethical note of his usual discourses, which carried his congregation over into a liberal faith, was what has made Channing an enduring factor in the religious life of the world. It is the sweetness and spiritual appeal of his

sermons that have caused them to be read by ministers of every denomination and upholders of every sect, from that day to this, even although they were divested of the irresistible charm of his wonderful personality, and the compelling power of his vibrating voice.

Although Channing was pre-eminently the preacher of spiritual things, it would be unfair not to speak also of his important work along the lines of political and social reform. He had a passion for liberty, and was its champion in many fields. It was this trait that made him distrustful of all sects, and even loath to range himself under the Unitarian banner; it was the *church universal* that appealed to him. He always upheld free speech, whether it was the much misunderstood Emerson or the universally decried Theodore Parker whom he defended; and it made no difference that he was not in accord with the latter's views. Mr. Chadwick pays a special tribute to his *open-mindedness.* Channing was always interested in national affairs, and was in sympathy with the Federal party in 1812. In 1814 he delivered a remarkable sermon in King's Chapel on the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte.

As to social questions, it is interesting to note that the Unitarian Fellowship for Social

Justice has published a little pamphlet containing his utterances along these lines, with the prefatory remark that, as one reads his work, "he is impressed more and more strongly with the fact that Channing's message on the social question is still prophetic and vital."

It was quite natural that the apostle of the dignity of human nature should try to improve the lot of the laborer and to succor the poor and oppressed. As Mr. Frothingham tells us: "He was the friend and counselor of Horace Mann, of Joseph Tuckerman, and of Samuel May. He labored for temperance, for the improvement of prisons, for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, for the general welfare of the laboring man, for freedom everywhere and under all conditions, for peace instead of war." As far back as 1800, when only twenty, he wrote: "I am not for enlarging our standing army; I wish there was nothing of the kind. It is the engine which has beat down the walls of liberty in all ages. A soldier by profession is too apt to forget that he is a citizen." Sixteen years later a meeting held in his study organized the Massachusetts Peace Society, and this, to me at least, is one of his noblest titles to enduring fame.

It is remarkable how he anticipated many of the philanthropic theories and principles of a later day,—how he saw the importance of working with individuals rather than with masses, and of *helping people to help themselves.* He felt the vital need of ethical and civic instruction in the public schools. He was a fearless champion, long in advance of his age, of the modern methods of prison management. It is interesting in this connection to remember that Dorothea Dix, later renowned for her wonderful work for the prisoners and the insane, was for a number of years an inmate of Dr. Channing's family, being employed as governess to his children. We must also not forget that Miss Elizabeth Peabody, with her great, unselfish interest in all good things and people, was for some time his amanuensis, and also a teacher of his daughter. Channing was also a prophet of the social settlement, whose principles and aims he predicted fifty years before they were realized by Arnold Toynbee in London.

Above all, however, this fearless apostle of liberty took a brave stand on the question of slavery. Although he disapproved the extreme measures of the pioneers in this great reform, and on that account held aloof from it

longer than he otherwise would have done, yet when he realized that his duty lay on the side of the reformers, he never faltered in his support, even when some of his influential parishioners crossed the street to avoid meeting him. One of the fairest laurels in his crown is that he issued the call to the memorable meeting of Abolitionists, which was held in Faneuil Hall on December 8, 1837, to protest against the murder of Lovejoy,—at which meeting the young Wendell Phillips made his first great speech, and the youthful, curly-headed John A. Andrew sat on the platform. Dr. Channing not only issued the call to this meeting, but made the opening address, and sat undismayed on the platform, despite the fury of the threatening mob.

His conservative congregation was not pleased when Channing began to lift his voice from the pulpit on behalf of social reform in its various phases. But his advocacy of the Anti-slavery principle, given from the pulpit as well as elsewhere, was still worse in their eyes, and probably no one now living realizes how much this delicate, naturally retiring and unaggressive man had to suffer in his defense of freedom. We must remember this when we hear him accused, as he occasionally is, by those

who do not know all the facts, of time-serving and cowardice. He was never lacking in moral courage when he once saw his way clear.

Owing to his delicate health, a good deal of his social work had to be done from the pulpit or with the pen; but so far as he was able, he also gave freely of his time and strength, visiting the poor of his parish, talking with the children of the Society, and giving them lessons—this was before the day of Sunday schools. He was very successful in making his addresses to children simple and attractive, and once said that the most satisfactory compliment he ever received was from a little girl who told her mother: "I understood every word he said."

A well-known incident from his early ministry shows his unselfish consideration for others. His week was usually so busy with study, and visiting the sick and poor, that he had rarely begun to prepare his sermon before Saturday afternoon. A colored teacher, who was anxious to profit by Mr. Channing's society, used frequently to take advantage of the holiday to visit him, often staying into the evening. Mrs. Channing was much annoyed that her son should be thus robbed of his precious hours, but he would not suffer his colored

visitor to be sent away, even although he often sat up most of the night, and finished his sermons while the morning bell was ringing.

It was not until 1814 that Mr. Channing was married to the lovely cousin, Ruth Gibbs, to whom he had been attached since boyhood. He had postponed this happiness as the result of an agreement with his older brother Francis, that one of them should remain unmarried for ten years, and make a home for their mother and sisters.

In 1822 the delicate and hard-working minister was persuaded by his parishioners and friends to take a much needed rest, and a year abroad with his wife brought rich experiences and new vigor. Dr. Dewey, who had often preached for him before, occupied his pulpit during this year of absence.

In 1824 Mr. Ezra Stiles Gannett became associated with him in the church, and Dr. Channing relinquished a portion of his salary, gradually giving up the remainder as his colleague assumed more and more of the pastoral duties, which he himself had no longer the strength to discharge. He preached occasionally, when able, and when this was known in advance, the church was always crowded.

Dr. Dewey, who as a young man lived for a

number of weeks in his family, and so had an unusual chance to study the great man, gives us some valuable side-lights on his character and disposition. This young man frequently had the ordeal of preaching with Dr. Channing as auditor, and received from him the criticism: "You address yourself too much to the imagination, and too little to the conscience." Dewey found Channing "embosomed in reverence and affection, and yet living in a singular isolation. No being was ever more simple, unpretending, and kindly-natured than he, and yet no such being surely was ever so inaccessible,—not that he was proud, but that he was venerated as something out of the earthly sphere." . . . "One felt it necessary to sit bolt upright in conversing with him, and to strain his mind as to a task." There seems to be a universal testimony as to the awe his presence inspired. Although always courteous, he was sometimes abstracted. "He unbent with children more easily than with others." Ephraim Peabody also speaks of the great interest he took in the young, whom he loved to have about him. Mr. Peabody makes a few admirable statements about Channing which I cannot forbear quoting, *e. g.*: "Conversation with him was not a conflict of wits, but an instrument for investi-

gating truth; not an argumentative controversy, but an inquiry. On leaving him, you felt that you had not been learning how to maintain a side, but that you had penetrated deeper into the subject of discussion. But the quality which above all others manifested itself was the devotional habit of his mind. As you came to know him well, you felt that his mind kept habitually within the circle of light which shines down from above." He "possessed one characteristic of greatness in a remarkable degree,—the power of sacrificing that which was secondary and unimportant to that which was central and essential," and this, Mr. Peabody thinks, was in part owing to his delicate health, which necessitated a constant choice of that which was most important. He loved intercourse with all kinds of men, but was more eager to draw from them their information and views than to exhibit his own, and to this Mr. Peabody attributes his breadth and clearness of judgment on the social and moral questions of the time. It is hard not to multiply the verdicts of Channing's contemporaries, in their efforts to sum up his character in a few words, but I will content myself here with one of the most striking, from the German Lutheran, Baron Bunsen, as quoted by Dr. Hedge:

"Channing is in humanity a Greek, in citizenship a Roman, in Christianity an apostle," and he adds: "If such a one is not a Christian apostle of the presence of God in man, I know of none."

We all know how the end came in the autumn of 1842, when among the mountains of Vermont that gentle spirit left this earth with the last rays of the setting sun, and after his final word, so appropriate to his beautiful life, had been caught from his dying lips: "I have received many messages from the spirit." The funeral services were held on October 7th in the Federal Street Church, with which he had been identified so long. His colleague, Mr. Gannett, gave the address, and three other ministers took part in the service.

It was fortunate for the bereaved congregation that a good and wise successor to Dr. Channing was at hand, in the person of his tried and faithful colleague, Ezra Stiles Gannett.

Gannett had become Dr. Channing's colleague as a very young man, soon after finishing his course in the Divinity School. He preached his first sermon there in 1824. He was extremely conscientious as well as zealous, and an indefatigable and successful worker in

church, parish, and Sunday school, despite some early failures and discouragements. He was a natural organizer, and was one of the framers, and the first secretary, of the American Unitarian Association. It was also largely due to him that the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches was formed.

After twelve years of unremitting toil his health broke down, and he fled to Europe, where he was able, through the kindness of his parishioners, to remain two years, and slowly recuperate. Just before returning home, he electrified the staid Unitarians in London with his extemporaneous eloquence. But the very first summer after his return he had a paralytic stroke which affected his right leg, and made him a cripple for life. From this time on he swung along between two short crutches, and was a well-known figure in the streets of Boston. This infirmity did not in the least impair his usefulness or activity; indeed, it seemed as if his main work had only just begun.

He was busy editing two Unitarian periodicals; he gave many eloquent lectures, to hear which a number of eager students walked over from Cambridge; he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Harvard College, and other well-deserved honors fell to his lot.

When in 1842 Dr. Channing died, the whole responsibility of the church rested upon his shoulders, although the actual work of pulpit and parish had long been his.

This was the age of Transcendentalism, whose prophets were the young Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker. Dr. Gannett remained in the conservative ranks of the old Unitarians, although he was always fair to his opponents, and he and Parker remained personal friends.

Like his famous predecessor, Channing, Gannett was constantly handicapped by his physical condition, and yet his work was always done, as the 1750 sermons he left behind him bear witness. There were, beside these, quantities of sermons and lectures delivered without manuscript. He was, above all, the devoted pastor, visiting his people constantly in their homes. He was for four years president of the American Unitarian Association, for five years president of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and for twenty-three years an overseer of Harvard College. He gave addresses before distinguished societies; he rode about cold New England for five or six winters, giving lyceum lectures, and was in special request for dedication and ordination

services. It was his duty and privilege to dedicate the new church on Arlington Street in 1861.

Dr. Gannett had always been active in the causes of peace, temperance, and education, as well as in many forms of charity, but he took little part in the anti-slavery struggle, although he hated slavery. He feared war as a result of the abolition policy, and dreaded disunion above all things. But after the war was over he was enthusiastic over the Freedmen's Aid Society, and his face appears in the Sanitary Commission group among the bronze bas-reliefs of the Soldiers' Monument on Boston Common.

His parishioners sent him to Europe again, to keep him from resigning his pastorate, owing to increased sickness and depression. He next undertook to teach in a newly organized theological school. He tried many times to resign, and finally preached his last sermon to his loyal congregation in June, 1871. In the following August he met his death in a collision, on the way to Lynn on a preaching errand. He was identified with the Arlington Street Church and its work for nearly half a century.

There are memorial tablets to both Channing and Gannett in the present church. They

were previously placed on each side of the pulpit, but when the church was remodelled, a few years ago, they were transferred to the entrance hall, near the door.

This beautiful old church has only within recent years lost a familiar and genial figure, always seen in one of the front pews—the gifted daughter of Dr. Gannett, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells.

Dr. Gannett was followed by John Fothergill Waterhouse Ware, who was the minister from 1872 to 1881, after which came the well remembered pastorate of Brooke Herford, from 1882 to 1892. John Cuckson followed, until the year 1900, when the present century ushered in the worthy successor who now fills the pulpit.

I suppose we all of us learned the succession of the English sovereigns by committing to memory the well known rhyme which ends, you remember, as follows: "Then Anne, Georges four, and fourth William all passed, and Victoria came—may she long be the last." At the risk of seeming flippant, I am tempted to paraphrase, and to say that, after Channing, —then Gannett, Ware, Herford, and Cuckson all passed, and *Frothingham* came,—May he long be the last!

FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON

The four men particularly eminent and active in laying the foundation of the First Church in Boston, were John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson and John Wilson. The first, John Winthrop, became the first governor of Massachusetts; the second, Mr. Dudley, was for a long time deputy governor and afterwards governor for four years; the third, Isaac Johnson, was a man of family and fortune said to be the second white inhabitant of Boston. It is said that he chose for his land that square bounded by Tremont, School, Washington and Court Streets. He lived only a short time after the founding of the church and was buried in the south-west corner of his own land,—the nucleus of the King's Chapel Burying Ground. The fourth of these men was John Wilson, who became the first pastor of the church.

The history of the First Church begins with the occupation of Charlestown by the English colonists under Winthrop. The Arbella, the vessel in which they crossed the ocean, put into Salem Harbor in June, 1630, and later came to anchor in "Charlton Harbor," as Winthrop called it, early in July of the same year.

The pioneers were poorly prepared to contend with the hardships of the new situation, but in spite of many adversities, we might say rather *because of them,* the people hurried on the organization of the church.

The 30th of July was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer and after solemn religious exercises, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson and Wilson subscribed the Church Covenant, the same which is continued to-day.

On the first of August, Increase Nowell and four more united with the church and soon after, other members, so that the number amounted to sixty-four men and half that number of women.

From the very start, religion was uppermost in the minds of the colonists and on the 27th of August another fast was observed and the church duly organized by the appointment of the proper officers. These officers included pastors, teachers, ruling elders, deacons, and sometimes deaconesses or widows; the function of the latter was, as quaintly quoted, "to show mercy and cheerfulness and to minister to the sick and poor brethren."

The first meeting place was under a large tree on the Charlestown side, but the settlers soon perceived that the south side of the

Charles River was preferable to the north, both as to climate and water supply, and they began to remove to the peninsula. At first those who had removed went back to Charlestown to worship on Sunday. In a little while worship was celebrated alternately on each side of the river. At length the First Church took its station altogether in Tri-mountain, which was soon called Boston.

Early in 1631 Wilson made a visit to England for the purpose of bringing over his wife, and the affairs of the church were left with Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley and Elder Nowell. But his place was soon afterwards supplied by Rev. Mr. Eliot, afterwards celebrated for his apostleship to the Indians.

Although the founders of Massachusetts and of the First Church forsook their native country with the express design of enjoying perfect liberty of conscience, and, although doubtless it was the original intention to preserve ecclesiastical affairs distinct from those of the State, yet these interests became immediately blended. Instances of political interference with ecclesiastical concerns were often taking place. No church could be gathered without permission from the magistrates

and none could be a magistrate, nor even vote for a magistrate, unless he was a member of a church thus politically gathered. The General Court was held in the First Church meeting house as late as 1658.

On the return of Wilson from London, in May, 1632, the congregation began to build their first house of worship and another house for the pastor. They erected the church on the south side of State Street not far from where Brazer Building now stands. Its roof was thatched and the walls were of mud. As the season grew late and the weather grew severe, those members living in Charlestown found it troublesome to worship in Boston, accordingly they signified their desire to form a new society—so in October, sixty-three persons were "peaceably dismissed."

The congregation of the First Church now fixed their eyes for a teacher on Mr. John Eliot, but he had already determined on a settlement in Roxbury and would not be persuaded to alter his resolution. Thereupon in November, 1632, *Mr. Wilson* hitherto teacher was ordained pastor of the church.

In 1633 John Cotton arrived from England, where being threatened with proceedings for non-conformity, he sought the freedom of the

new land. His popularity in England had been great, and had already prepared him a welcome reception here so that he might have chosen any situation in the country, but he was somewhat compelled by the advice of the Governor and Counsel as well as by the unanimous voice of the First Church to settle here, and accordingly in October he was chosen teacher of the church with Mr. Wilson as pastor.

The young and spreading colony soon felt and appreciated the weight and influence of John Cotton, a man of great intellect and learning, well acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Besides preaching, settling cases of conscience, giving counsel in public affairs, and presiding over church discipline, he wrote many books which became standard authorities.

Soon after his arrival he established the *Thursday Lecture,* in continuation of that originated by him in Old Boston, which remained under the tutelage of the First Church for over two centuries.*

John Cotton's influence was generally beneficent, though it was never used to further

**Note*—I found a reference to a Thursday Lecture as late as 1858 when our own Dr. James Freeman Clarke gave the lecture.

the cause of freedom or democracy, he believing that Monarchy and Aristocracy were clearly approved and directed in the scriptures. He naturally took an active part in most of the theological and political controversies of his time, the two principal of which were those concerning Antinomianism, the movement headed by Anne Hutchinson, and the expulsion of Roger Williams. In the former his position was somewhat equivocal, for he first supported and then violently opposed Anne Hutchinson; and in the latter he approved the expulsion of Roger Williams as "righteous in the eyes of God."

In the year 1640 the congregation decided to build a new meeting-house, the old one being dilapidated and too small. The church was finally erected in Cornhill Square.

At this time Winthrop speaks of the church as being in a particularly thriving condition and it was about this time, in 1650, that the Second Church was gathered. It is told to the credit of John Cotton that he did all he could to further the undertaking, notwithstanding it might draw parishioners from himself.

In the year 1651 Cotton died. There is a memorial erected to his memory in his old church of St. Botolph's, England, through the

liberality of Edward Everett and other members of the First Church and of Boston. Among his numerous services to Boston that of saving the public Common might be considered the most important. His claim of having founded the Boston Latin School seems to be authentic. It was first situated on what is now School Street, then called Latin School Street.

The death of Cotton left Wilson in sole charge of the church for nearly four years until the installation of John Norton as teacher. By the death of Norton, Wilson, now seventy-six years old, was again left without a colleague. In 1667 the church lost this venerable and beloved pastor, who had been with them, as the record says, since the "first beginning of the plantation, a period of thirty-seven years."

He was the last of the four original signers of that solemn church covenant entered into before Boston was settled.

For more than a year after the death of Wilson no one was called to fill the vacancy, but Rev. John Davenport and James Allen were both called to be teaching officers. After this Davenport served as minister for two years with Allen as colleague. He was the

last of that group of four Johns so famous in the history of the church and colony, John Wilson, John Cotton, John Norton, John Davenport.

At the beginning of Davenport's ministry a difference of religious opinion divided the congregation, and a minority founded a Third Church with meetings in Charlestown. The separation lasted about fourteen years; at the end of that time an effort was made to establish an Episcopal church, which both societies regarded as a common enemy. Consequently they came together, the proposal for reconciliation being voted by the First Church. After Davenport came James Allen, John Oxenbridge, Joshua Moody, John Bailey, Benjamin Wadsworth and Thomas Bridge.

In 1692 an important change took place in the relation of church and state taking away from the church that power which never properly belonged to it and transferring the jurisdiction of civil affairs to the people. For nearly a quarter of a century no attack on the Puritan system of church government had met with much success. The Quakers had raised some trouble but had established no society of any consequence except in Rhode Island. The number of Baptists was perhaps

even smaller than Quakers and the attempts to establish an Episcopal Church had thus far failed. Cotton had done much to keep the system in working order.

In 1711 the Meeting House was consumed by fire and in 1713 the corner stone of the New (afterwards the Old) Brick Meeting House was laid on the same spot.

Early in the year 1717 Thomas Foxcroft, a young man hardly twenty-one years old, was invited to assist Mr. Wadsworth, and when that senior pastor in 1725 removed to Cambridge as president of Harvard College, he was left for two years as the only settled minister. At the end of that time Charles Chauncy was chosen as colleague to Foxcroft.

Chauncy was the great grandson of Rev. Charles Chauncy who was the second president of Harvard College. His father was a prosperous merchant in Boston and he was educated at Harvard, graduating at sixteen years of age in the year 1721. He commenced the study of theology and accepted the call to the First Church as co-pastor with Thomas Foxcroft.

The significant development of the First Church in religious opinion began with Chauncy. In all the history of the church

there had been no dissension about theological beliefs. Chauncy's early ministry attracted little attention both because he was the colleague of a famous preacher and also because his sermons were marked by a simplicity of speech which was at first unattractive. The ornate taste of the period immediately following the Revolution was inclined to ridicule his style a little, but men always respected his thought. His very simplicity and directness of speech made his sermons easy reading. It was, therefore, as a writer of books and pamphlets, that Chauncy influenced the thought of his time. His controversial writings took in the main three directions—1st, his antagonism to the extravagancies of the "Great Awakening"—the revivals of Whitefield; 2nd, his defense of congregational forms of church government, and—finally, his affirmation of certain theological convictions which were distinctly unorthodox.

He came first into public notice as a stern opposer of the religious excitement that prevailed in New England in connection with the labors of Whitefield. Though he did not by any means stand alone in his views of these revivals, he differed from the majority of the ministers who, while they saw much to disap-

prove, yet admitted the substantial genuineness of the work. He regarded it as essentially evil and opposed it with all the energy he could command.

Dr. Chauncy successfully championed the *freedom of the churches* and fearing that the appointment of Bishops for America would be followed by attempts to promote Episcopacy by force, he wrote forcibly as follows,—"It may be relied on, our people would not be easy, if restrained in the exercise of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; yea, they would hazard everything dear to them, their estates, their very lives, rather than to suffer their necks to be put under that yoke of bondage which was so galling to their fathers and occasioned their retreat into this distant land, that they might enjoy the freedom of men and Christians."

In 1762 he first showed forth the doctrine of the final salvation of all men. This had been a subject of earnest thought with him for some time and he published one or two other books about the same time, wherein he affirmed the restoration of all souls, denied the Calvinistic doctrines about future punishment, and questioned the doctrine of the trinity.

Through his sermons and publications on

these themes Dr. Chauncy became the best known of the liberal leaders in the Massachusetts churches before Channing. He was the representative scholar of the earlier liberal movement, as Jonathan Mayhew was the representative orator. Theologically, he was always a difficult man to classify. His unconsciousness of the inevitable consequences of his convictions was typical of the early stages of the movement, which became known later as Unitarianism.

Chauncy's ministry was prolonged to the close of its 59th year. Old age had somewhat limited his activities, but his mind was keenly alive to the end. He received the Rev. John Clarke as his colleague and was thereby relieved somewhat from public labors, but he continued to occupy the pulpit part of the time to the end of his life, dying at the age of eighty-three. John Clarke lived with Dr. Chauncy for nine years as a son with a father in the most respectful and affectionate intimacy and continued as pastor with great acceptance until his death.

At this time distinction as to sex and quality were still to a certain extent recognized in seating the congregation. The men and women did not sit separately, as was the cus-

tom in the old South Church at this period, but there were a few long seats known as men seats and women seats, which were reserved for the humbler sort of people, probably the servants of the proprietors.

For six months during 1784 and 1785 while extensive repairs were being made, the First Church accepted the kind invitation of Brattle Street Church to worship with them.

On the death of Dr. Chauncy no attempt was made to settle a colleague with Dr. Clarke, and the church has remained in charge of a single minister ever since.*

After the death of Dr. Clarke in 1799 the society extended a call to the Rev. William Emerson, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which was accepted. It was during the pastorate of Mr. Emerson that it was decided to sell the Old Brick Church. It is interesting to note that on the night of the Boston Massacre, in 1770, the alarm was sounded from the Old Brick Church.

The building of their fourth house of worship, or Chauncy Place Meeting House, as it was afterwards called, seems to have been performed with great dispatch and very little fric-

*Note — There is a John Clarke Fund now — the managers of hich give vacations in the country to women and children.

tion. Out of 134 pews in Chauncy Place Church, 114 were owned and occupied at the opening of the church. The Theological Library was placed in the vestry and there was a parsonage on the corner of Summer Street and Chauncy Place. After the death of Emerson, which occurred less than three years after the removal from Cornhill, the society remained without a settled pastor for two years.

John Lovejoy Abbot was the next unanimous choice in 1813—but he had scarcely entered upon his duties when he was obliged to go abroad for his health. He died the next year without preaching again.

The ordination of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham took place in March, 1815, and he continued as minister for thirty-five years. He was the author of many published sermons and was also a noteworthy writer of hymns. He was a finished scholar, a refined, instructive and able preacher. Though relieved of all ministerial responsibility during the last years of his life, his connection with the society as a parishioner was never severed. The last six years of his life he suffered extremely through the total loss of eyesight.

The Rev. Rufus Ellis from the church in

Northampton was called after Mr. Frothingham's resignation, and was installed in May, 1853. After a few years it became evident that the church must have a new home, and under his leadership the change was made to the present beautiful edifice, the fifth house of worship, on the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets, which cost about $325,-000. It accommodates about 1,000 persons, has a fine organ and wonderful stained glass windows. The amount realized from the sale of the Chauncy Place Church, even when added to all the available assets received from the sale of pews, etc., did not nearly cover this cost, but various members of the society pledged themselves to cover the large deficiency of over $125,000, and in 1876 the report at the annual meeting shows the society entirely free from debt. It was during Mr. Ellis's time that a change took place in the Sunday school, which heretofore had been distinctively a parish gathering, but was now enlarged by taking in children outside the congregation, and the attendance numbered 450 children at one time. Out of the Sunday school sprang other useful organizations such as the sewing-school for children, the dress-making class and a singing-school. Dr. Ellis

was not a great preacher in the sense of reaching a large circle of hearers, but something in the substance of his sermons or his earnest goodness, attracted and held both the highly cultivated and every-day sort of men. He was a faithful pastor, a devoted friend, a man of deep spirituality and religious feeling.

After a ministry of 33 years Mr. Ellis was succeeded by Rev. Stopford A. Brooke who served the society for twelve years, and he in turn was followed by Rev. James Eels for seven years. This brings us to the present ministry of Rev. Charles E. Park, who seems to be continuing all the good movements started by his predecessors.

The Girls' Fraternity Club, organized years ago by Rev. Stopford Brooke, still continues to meet every Monday and Friday evening, about 140 members being entered for classes in millinery, embroidery, woodcarving and painting.

On Saturday afternoons about ninety children meet for lessons in sewing and dressmaking.

The church supports laundry and cooking classes at the Norfolk House Center; maintains a scholarship in Harvard College and one in the Harvard Divinity School; equips

and supports a surgical ward and a free bed in a hospital. There is also a Mothers' Club of about twenty-five which meets once a month and a charity committee which meets every two weeks and disperses annually about $1,-500, among the poorer families of the big mission Sunday school.

Besides these practical charitable activities and its religious influence, the church now contributes to the higher life of the city by maintaining, throughout the winter season, weekly vesper services which are free to the public.

Thus we have seen that The First Church in Boston has a wonderful history of 285 years and is to-day fulfilling its noble traditions.

Note.—A large part of this paper is quoted directly from "Heralds of a Liberal Faith," edited by S. A. Eliot, and also from Ripley's "History of the First Church."

WEST CHURCH

BEING invited to write a paper on the West Church and its ministers, I shall quote freely from the excellent book edited by the Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, entitled "The Heralds of a Liberal Faith."

Of Jonathan Mayhew, the first minister, we are told that "on the 6th of March, 1747, the West Church in Boston invited him to become their pastor." On the day first appointed for the ordination only two of the clergymen invited were in attendance, owing, as it was understood, to rumors about the theological unsoundness of the candidate. Those two did not think proper to proceed, but advised the calling of another and a larger council. This advice was complied with. A council consisting of fourteen ministers, not one of whom was from Boston, was convoked; and ten of these assembled on the 17th of June and harmoniously inducted the candidate into office. Most of the members of the Council who were present were reckoned among the "liberal" men of that day, though there must have been considerable difference in their religious views. That Mayhew's liberal opinions were already considered heretical may be inferred not only

from the fact that no Boston minister took part in his ordination, but from another equally significant circumstance; namely, that he never became a member of the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers. He was a thorough radical, a redoubtable pioneer. He did not practice the reticence which marked so many of his contemporaries, who really shared many of his convictions. He spoke out with fearless candor and tremendous force. He was, as described by one of his successors, the "first preacher in Boston of an untrinitarian God, most potent clerical assenter in America of civil and religious freedom—a communicant who fresh from the table of the Lord's Supper wrote to James Otis; "Communion of churches; why not communion of the colonies?"

While Mayhew by temperament and by opportunity was chiefly influential as an orator, yet he was also a reformer, a scholar, and a trenchant writer on themes both theological and political. "Jonathan Mayhew was notably the foremost pulpit orator of New England, and a pioneer of religious freedom, but was also the fervent patriot, the torch bearer who lighted the fires of his country's liberties. He was not only the associate, but the inspirer of

the leaders of the patriot cause in the days before the Revolution. James Otis, John and Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, John Hancock and Robert Treat Paine were among his intimate friends." He died when 46 years of age, his pastorate having continued for nineteen years.

Simeon Howard, its second minister, "was unanimously invited to become the pastor of the West Church," and was ordained in 1767. The ministry of Dr. Howard in Boston was painfully interrupted by the Revolution. While the British troops were in possession of the town, the house in which he preached was turned into a barrack, and his congregation scattered in every direction. Having many friends in Nova Scotia, and having been once or twice applied to to send them a minister, he proposed to some of his parishioners to retire with him thither for a refuge, and though he was scarcely serious at the moment in making the proposal, they in their despondency instantly fell in with it, and the arrangements were quickly made for their departure.

On his return to Boston, after an absence of a year and a half, he found his society so far reduced in numbers from death, emigration, and other causes that they were seriously

apprehensive that they should be obliged to disband, from their inability to support a minister. He refused however to listen to such a suggestion, assuring them that he would receive whatever compensation they could give him, and would continue with them while three families remained. He further agreed "to accept the contribution that should from time to time be collected and paid him during his ministry as a full compensation, any agreement with the society previously made notwithstanding." The Society, as they recovered their strength, did not forget the generous sacrifices which he had made in their behalf.

Dr. Howard's salary, raised from three pounds twelve shillings a week in 1777, to four pounds per week in 1780, probably in proportion to the number of families in the parish, was the largest salary paid in town, ($240. a year.)

As a preacher, Dr. Howard was far from being in the common acceptation of the word, eloquent, but was distinguished for a truly patriarchal simplicity of character. He evidently had a humble opinion of himself, though he had nothing of that spurious humility that leads some men to be forever ostentatiously acknowledging their own imperfections. He

was charitable in his estimate of character, and never imputed evil motives when any other could possibly be assigned. He was bland and gentle in his manners, calm and equable in temper, and more inclined to listen than to speak. His parishioners loved him as a brother, and honored him as a father; his brethren in the ministry always met him with a grateful and cordial welcome; and the community at large reverenced him for his simplicity, integrity and benevolence. He died after an illness of a week, in 1804, in the 72nd year of his age. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Edinburgh. He was overseer and a fellow of Harvard College, and a member of many local societies for the promotion of literary, charitable, and religious objects.

Dr. Howard was succeeded by Charles Lowell who was born in Boston in 1782, his father being an eminent lawyer. He was a student at Phillips Academy, Andover, and in 1797 entered Harvard College as a Sophomore. After graduating in 1800, he studied law for one year with his elder brother, John Lowell, Jr., and then relinquished it for the study of theology. In 1802 he entered the Divinity School of the University of Edin-

burgh, and in 1804 visited London and Paris, meeting and becoming acquainted with many illustrious men. In Paris he had frequent opportunities of seeing Napoleon Bonaparte, just after he had been proclaimed emperor.

In 1805 he returned to his native country, and was ordained and installed pastor of the West Church in 1806, continuing as sole pastor of the church for more than 37 years. His health having become feeble, Mr. Cyrus Augustus Bartol became his colleague in 1837; but Dr. Lowell continued his pastoral relations, officiating however, very rarely, as long as he lived. He died in Cambridge in 1861 at the age of 78 years. He had six children, one of whom was James Russell Lowell. At the height of his power Dr. Lowell preached to the largest congregation in Boston, and the West Church was the home of three or four hundred of the leading families of the community. His sermons were earnest and direct appeals to the conscience and the emotional nature. He wrote with faultless taste and simple elegance. In his personal appearance, there was a careful blending of majesty and grace. He had a clear, penetrating voice, a handsome face and figure, a natural earnestness of manner which made

him a master of the orator's art. He knew every man, woman and child in his large parish and was assiduous in giving to them counsel, encouragement and comfort. No minister in Boston was more beloved and honored. Theologically, he was undoubtedly a Unitarian; but he resolutely refused to attach himself to any denomination or to call himself by any name other than Christian.

A visit to the old West Church, now a branch of the Public Library, at the corner of Cambridge and Lynde Streets, brings back many memories of the past. The pews of course are gone, and the fine old mahogany pulpit, every line of which is distinctly photographed upon my memory, may still be seen in the church at Meeting House Hill. Behind the pulpit were rich red brocade curtains making a fine background for Dr. Bartol's white head. Now, in their place, hang the four oil portraits of the four ministers, about whom we have been hearing, the gift of Miss Elizabeth H. Bartol. The galleries still remain, as well as the strikingly handsome clock, much coveted by Jewish tradesmen, the librarian told me. Just here let me say, that if any one desires to see the interior of the church, exactly as it looked in the old days, a framed photo-

graph hangs in the entrance hall of the American Unitarian Association. After it was no longer used as a church, it was purchased for preservation by Mr. Andrew C. Wheelwright and in 1894 the city of Boston bought it for a Public Library. The audience gathered there now is very different from the one of the old days. All chairs are occupied by quietly absorbed readers, and the librarian told me, that many of the unemployed come in the mornings, while on Monday afternoons and evenings, it is crowded with Jews. On Thursday afternoons there is story telling for children in the room below, formerly the old Sunday-school room. In fact, the still handsome interior, though stripped of many of its former beauties, is well worth a visit, and the librarian begged me to urge the members of my church to become interested in it.

As a very little girl, I can remember a gallery high up, over the organ, where colored people only were allowed to sit, but which happily disappeared later. I have also the memory of going always to morning and afternoon service, and of seeing entire families, mother, father and children walking quietly up the aisle to their pews.

There were no automobiles or Sunday con-

certs then. After a sufficient sum was raised to purchase a new organ, Mr. John K. Paine became the organist, and I can remember how we lingered at the end of the morning service, to hear those magnificent toccatas and fugues, by Bach. As members of the choir at one time, we had as contralto, Miss Annie Louise Cary, a young struggling singer then, who later reached the climax of her success in opera and oratorio, in America and Europe, —also Mr. George L. Osgood, the sweet tenor soloist and teacher.

Beyond the wonderful Sunday "speaking," as the Saturday newspaper advertised it, Dr. Bartol had little gift for organization, or for making his flock acquainted, and much of his high, almost Emersonian thought was food to the older members of the congregations, but very far above the heads of the younger contingent.

Had only that seed of warm and loving fellowship so widely recognized, and generously offered in our own church, been planted in those young lives, how much wider and far reaching the result might have been.

The original church was gathered in 1737, and William Hooper called as its minister; he

only served for nine years and then returned to the Episcopal Church.

The church was then of wood, with a steeple, and as it stood upon an elevation, the British troops suspected that it was used for giving signals to the Continental army, and the steeple was taken down in 1775. In 1806 the present brick church was erected. We read that the outside clock, procured by subscription, the town contributing $100, was made by an ingenious artist, Mr. Stowell of Worcester, and cost with the dial $415. The bell was made in Gloucester, England, in 1745.

SECOND CHURCH OF BOSTON

Boston was not yet twenty years old when the Second Church was founded in 1649, but in that short time great changes had taken place in the little peninsula. Forests and thickets had been cleared away and pleasant streets and gardens and fruitful fields had taken their places. Cabins had given place to large buildings, some even of brick and tile and stone. Wharves stretched into the harbor; ships rode at anchor in the bay. The little cluster of buildings, formerly nestled for safety between the three hills then crowned with forts and batteries of cannon, was spreading over the plain. The First Church had been founded only seventeen years before and already the original building "which had enclosed some of the noblest and choicest spirits that ever bore the Christian name," where Winthrop and Dudley worshipped and where the eloquent John Cotton preached, had made way for a larger and more comfortable building. And now this new building was insufficient; particularly the northern part of the settlement needed a new church building. To the Puritans, the house of God was the first care; around it their houses were grouped. The

idea of a Theocracy, with God as immediate ruler and governor, inspired all their movements and thoughts. So the Second Church was built of wood at the head of North Square not far from the spot where still stands the quaint house of Paul Revere, which most of us have seen. It would be most interesting if we could form some picture of the building in our minds. But the church records barely suggest that some of the pews were provided with private doors through the side of the church into the street, though they do not give any reason for this peculiar method of entrance. John Cotton, minister of the first church, favored the building of the new church, even if it drew away some of his parishioners. "His name was John," says the quaintest of New England historians, "and like this great forerunner of Jesus, who bore the same appellation, he reckoned his joy fulfilled in this, that in his own decrease, the interests of his Master would increase." At this time Boston was the most flourishing town in the colony, but there were also thriving settlements with churches at Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Watertown, and other places in the vicinity. Harvard College was an established seat of learning. John Winthrop's career as Gover-

nor of Massachusetts had just closed by his death in 1649. The first sermon in the Second Church was preached in June, 1650, by Samuel Mather, son of Richard Mather of the Dorchester church. On that memorable day in June, the seven original members, "being called of God to enter into church fellowship together"—namely, "Michael Powell, James Ashwood, Christopher Gibson, John Phillips, George Davis, Michael Wills and John Farnham" signed a sacred covenant. "We here freely this day," so the covenant reads, "do avouch the Lord to be our God and ourselves to be his people."

It was a layman's movement, a people's church, a democratic organization. The new church tried to induce Samuel Mather to remain with them as minister, but could only prevail upon him to stay for a few months, when he returned to England where he resided. For several years worship was conducted by Michael Powell, layman, one of the original seven, whose services were so acceptable that the church wished to ordain him as teacher, and would have done so had not the civil authorities interfered. Their objection to him was that he was *"illiterate as to academical education"!* After remaining without

a pastor for four years, John Mayo was ordained in 1655. Little is known of him; he had probably passed the prime of life and was perhaps not a distinguished man. Increase Mather, who was his colleague for a time, and who succeeded him calls him "a blessing to his people" and adds that they worked together in love and peace for eleven years. And now comes the great period in the history of the Second Church, the reign of the Mathers, father and son, which lasted some sixty years. In 1664 Increase Mather was ordained. His extraordinary name is said to have been given him in gratitude to God for the providential prosperity of the Colony at that time. He came from the best stock of the colony; his father was Richard Mather, the well known minister of Dorchester, one of the company who had been put out of the English church for non-conformity to ceremonies which were against their conscience. Richard Mather is buried in the old Dorchester burying ground. His mother was also a woman of piety. "My child," she often said to the young Increase, "if God makes thee a good scholar and a good Christian, thou wilt have all thy mother ever asked for thee." Entering Harvard at the age of twelve, his parents were, not un-

naturally, solicitous for his feeble health and consigned him to the care of the famous Mr. Norton of Ipswich, where he remained for several years, was brought near death by a dangerous illness, and, on his recovery, resolved to put away every sin and make his peace with God. This resolution, consigned to writing, he considered peculiarly sacred, and seventy years after caused his grandsons to copy it, and made its perusal a cordial to him through the valley of the shadow. Graduating at Harvard in 1656, he began preaching before he was nineteen, but the next year sailed for Europe where he took his second degree at Trinity College, Dublin. Many churches made the young divine liberal offers if he would wear the surplice and use the book of Common Prayer. Like his father, he turned his back upon England, to find a harder but freer field of work in the new world. Here as many as twelve parishes sought his services, before he chose the Second Church as the field of his labors. The burning of the first building in 1676 did not check the growth of the young church. Of this calamity the minister had a powerful presentiment leading him to warn his people on the two previous Sundays from the pulpit, and even urge his family to

change their dwelling, which was burned. Indeed Increase Mather seems often to have uttered warnings to his people; like many religious people of his day, he was much given to introspection and was of a gloomy temperament. He was regarded as one of the great preachers of the day. His voice was powerful and commanding, and he used it most effectively, with such "*tonitruous* cogency," as his son says, "that his hearers were struck with awe like that produced by the fall of thunderbolts." Every sermon was written carefully, then learned and delivered without notes that it might be more effective. His manner of spending his time has come down to us. Every day of the week except Sunday he spent working on his sermons. On Friday they must be finished and on Saturday he committed them to memory. For many years he was very poor on account of his large family and small salary, and his diary contains many expressions of his distress on this account. "To be in debt to the dishonor of the gospel is a wounding, killing thought to me." Yet, in spite of his poverty, he always set aside a tenth of his income to pious uses. In the bloody war of 1675, called King Philip's War, Increase Mather obtained a whole shipload of

provisions from Ireland together with money and clothing from London to be distributed among the distressed inhabitants of New England. This really seems like these days of the Great War with conditions reversed. Dr. Mather was a dignified courtly Christian gentleman somewhat inclined to Puritanical austerity. His contemporaries said "it was an edifying thing only to see him in public assemblies; for his very countenance was a sermon." The diary of his earlier years is constantly marked with the significant memento "Heart Serious." His days were full of prayer. In 1685 Increase Mather was appointed president of Harvard. He held the position for sixteen years, but still continued his pastorate of the Second Church and his residence in Boston. It has been wittily said of him that "when not busy caring for his church or shaping the politics of the colony, he would step over to Cambridge and take charge of Harvard College." He held the first D. D. given by Harvard. He was also a man of affairs and rendered services to the state as well as to the church. Between Charles II and the colonies, particularly Massachusetts, there had been no cordial agreement, and finally the king called upon them to surrender their charter. Increase Mather

hastened to England and was so successful in his diplomatic mission that in 1692 came the welcome news that King William had granted a new charter which secured to Massachusetts a government as free as any in the civilized world; and the first governor was Sir William Phipps, a devout New England Calvinist and a member of the Mathers' church. Increase Mather was also instrumental in bringing about a happy union of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies. On the fiftieth anniversary of his settlement, he requested a dismissal from the church. This the church was unwilling to grant, but voted that "to render his old age easy to him," the labors of the pulpit should be expected of him only when he felt able and inclined. His death occasioned universal mourning and few citizens had received so honorable a funeral.

Cotton Mather has, doubtless, been more widely known than any New England preacher. Son of Increase Mather, grandson of John Cotton, he was born in Boston in 1662. Educated at the Free School, first under Benjamin Thompson, later under the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever, he entered Harvard at twelve, took his first degree with marked distinction at sixteen, his second at nineteen. At first a stam-

mering utterance stood in his way, but this being overcome, he studied theology and was ordained colleague to his father in 1686. He was a man of marked eccentricity, but he wore no disguise; he was most industrious, and was most earnest to do good. Benjamin Franklin attributed all his own usefulness and eminence to a book of Cotton Mather's,—"Essays to do good." There is hardly a philanthropic enterprise of to-day, which Mather did not anticipate. He was a strenuous advocate of *temperance;* he was much interested in seamen. He was an earnest upholder of the *rights of women,* for whom he had a high respect. His treatment of *slaves* was ahead of his time. Noticing that the slaves of Boston had no opportunities for education, he established a school for them. He had much at heart the *Christianization* of *negroes* abroad, as well as at home. He took a bold stand for the introduction of *inoculation* for small pox, when all the doctors with the exception of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston were against it. Indeed, so fierce was the people's rage against him, that his life was in danger.

Christian Missions, Bible Societies, Tradesmen's Libraries and Associations for the moral and religious improvement of young men were

among his favorite projects. He made a catalogue of all the poor of his flock and of the town. This "List of Miserables," as he called it, he kept about him in his visits among his parishioners and thus he often was able to enlist sympathy in a special case. Someone who knew him well said, "The ambition and character of his life was serviceableness." He was utterly without avarice and he had moral courage. His devout spirit has never been questioned. The parental relation between father and son was most beautiful. Cotton Mather was a kind father and did not have an "austere carriage" towards his children like many parents of his time. His ideas on the education of children were ahead of his time. He first convinced his children of his *love,* then impressed them that it was shameful to do wrong, and showed his surprise that the child could be so unworthy. Removal from his presence was an ordinary punishment. If the closing hours of life are a touch-stone of character, Cotton Mather bore the test well, for he said,—"And now, vain world, farewell. Thou hast been to me an uneasy wilderness. Welcome, everlasting life! I will go in and praise the Lord!" When his son bent over him, asking what word of condensed wisdom he would

give as a most precious talisman, the instant response was the single word "fruitful." With all these traits he must have been essentially a good man. And yet he had grotesque characteristics; he was vain, and one could hardly expect him to be otherwise. Descended from a double line of famous clergymen, he was a prodigy at school and treated as such. At his graduation from Harvard, President Oakes said "Mather is named Cotton Mather. What a name! But should he resemble his venerable grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, in piety, learning, splendor of intellect, solidity of judgment, prudence and wisdom, he will indeed bear the palm. And I have confidence that in this young man Cotton and Mather will be united and flourish again." Is it a wonder if his head was turned? He was very ambitious of remarkable spiritual experiences. Estimating that his father's fasts were not less than four hundred and fifty in number, his son spent two or three days in each week fasting. He then tried to feel all his sins and to come near to God in holy contemplation. He endeavored to get constant religious help from every little experience in life. When he pared his nails he thought how he might lay aside all superfluity of naught-

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iness. That a man of Cotton Mather's advanced views, so liberal that he wished the Lord's table to "have no rails about it" and who wanted even the Quakers, whom he apparently disliked, to be treated with all civility, should have played the part he did in the Salem Witchcraft seems incredible. All his life he had been passionately fond of the marvelous. From early years he had meditated much upon the "angelical ministry," both good and bad, and was a firm believer in it. "To please the angels" was a daily motive with him. The evil angels were, on the other hand, as much objects of hatred and dread. It is easy to believe that such a man might have thoroughly believed in witchcraft and in demoniacal possession. To understand Cotton Mather we must remember that the Puritan fathers believed New England charged with a divine mission to show the world what human society might be when governed by constant devotion to the revealed law of God. The period between the founding of the colony of Massachusetts and the revocation of the charter was practically a time of theocracy. When Increase Mather hastened to England to obtain the renewal of the charter, this rule of theocracy was in danger. Cotton Mather,

still almost a boy, was left virtually at the head of the conservative party in Boston. He believed that the renewal of the charter was a triumphant answer to prayer and demanded some peculiar act of gratitude to God. Looking about him he saw evidences of what we should call hypnotism, spiritualism. In the seventeenth century this was called witchcraft and believed the work of the devil. Beyond doubt Cotton Mather was one of the chief leaders in the attack on witchcraft. Nobody doubted the fact; the question was how it could be legally proved. Should "spectral evidence" be considered proof, that is should the testimony of bewitched persons on what they saw and felt in the paroxysm of their possession be considered valid against the accused?

In his personal records, Mather declares that he warned the courts against the dangers of "spectral evidence" in cases of life and death. But when the court decided to accept it, he felt bound, believing witchcraft to be of the devil, not to approve the decision. So the witches were hanged, mostly on "spectral evidence"; but when it was rejected prosecutions soon came to an end. Then came a deep revulsion of feeling and upon Cotton Mather has fallen much of the odium of the sad busi-

ness. Mather's character seems to have lacked chiefly steadiness and judgment. When in 1701 Increase Mather was removed from the presidency of Harvard College, theocracy in New England came to an end and the public career of the two Mathers was over. Cotton Mather lived on until 1728, preaching and writing numberless books. Sibley's "Harvard Graduates" records some four hundred titles of his actual publications. He also wrote an unpublished treatise on medicine which would fill a folio and his unpublished "Biblia Americana," a commentary on the whole Bible, would fill two or three folios more. His most celebrated book, "Magnalia," has been called the "prose epic of New England Puritanism." When it was conceived, the New England colonies were about seventy years old. Cotton Mather wished to examine critically this period to prove that an especially large number of "the elect" had lived in New England, therefore that the pristine policy of New England had been particularly favored of the Lord. Barrett Wendell says that Cotton Mather "again and again writes with a rhythmic beauty which recalls the enthusiastic spontaneity of Elizabethan English." The last clause of a ponderous paragraph about

Thomas Shepard, first minister of Cambridge, ends, "so the character of his daily conversation was a trembling walk with God." This noble phrase characterizes not only Thomas Shepard, but the better life of all the first century of New England. After the death of his father, Cotton Mather was alone in the church only about four months, when Joshua Gee was chosen colleague; he was a brilliant, scholarly man who founded a library in the Second Church for the use of the ministers and this survived even the trying days of the Revolution. Cotton Mather had the largest private library on the continent. The two Mathers also took marked interest in the reform of church music, which had fallen into a sad way in America. When the Puritans came over they brought with them the habit of psalm singing, but they made for themselves a literal but almost unsingable version of the Psalms, and worse still they adopted the custom of "lining" the Psalm, that is, of having each line read by an officer of the church before it was sung, originally necessary on account of the fewness of books, but long needless. When we add that tunes were handed down by oral tradition, that each individual could put in extra notes and quavers, and that

there was no pretense of keeping time, it is clear that a reform was needed.

In 1718 Cotton Mather published a new translation of the Psalms; in 1720 the first singing-book was started and singing by note was introduced into the Boston churches. Samuel Mather, son of Cotton, and fourth of his name to serve the Second Church, became colleague to Mr. Gee, but remained only a few years, then, taking some of his people with him he founded the so-called New North on the corner of Hanover and North Bennett Streets.

The Second Church was continuously under the Mather rule 64 years, and adding the short pastorate of Samuel, 73 years. The three Mathers are buried in Copp's Hill burying-ground. A fragment of Increase Mather's house may be seen 342½ Hanover Street, dating from 1677.

Samuel Checkley was second colleague to Mr. Gee. Under Dr. John Lathrop who served from 1768-1816, the church passed through many changes. He was a firm patriot who said, "Americans, rather than submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any nation in the world, would spill their best blood"; he did much to strengthen his people in their resistance to the British and to

gain for them the reputation of "a nest of traitors." The Second Church was among the heaviest sufferers from the war. The earliest mention of their trials is found in the following brief notice copied from the church records, "March 5, 1770, James Caldwell, shot by the inhumane soldiers." When the scattered congregation returned to the city after its evacuation by the British, they found their meeting-house in North Square in ashes. Many churches had suffered at the hands of the British soldiers. The Old South had been turned into a riding-school; the steeple of the West Church had been torn down, because it had been used as a signal tower to give intelligence to the provincial army; the Second Church, which had stood for more than a hundred years, was, "by a number of evil-minded men of the King's party" demolished and used for firewood. In their distress members of the congregation were invited to worship with the Society of the New Brick Church in Hanover Street. The New Brick Church was an offshoot through the New North, of the Second Church. In a sense it was therefore a union of parts. Dr. Lathrop assumed charge of the reunited organization and remained deservedly beloved and honored for almost exactly fifty

years. This New Brick Church was popularly known as the Cockerel Church, from the cock with golden plumage on its steeple; this identical cock is still in service on the Shepard Memorial Church in Cambridge, having for nearly two hundred years served as a weather-vane. In the belfry of this church hung the first bell cast in Boston, and made by Paul Revere in 1792.

It was under Dr. Lathrop that the Second Church gradually left Calvinism for the Liberal view of religion. Henry Ware, Jr., became minister in 1817 and for twelve years the church experienced "another golden age like that it had enjoyed under the first of the Mathers." Mr. Ware's name is a synonym for saintliness wherever known. Perhaps his best known work for the community is his temperance work. In an age when drinking was a universal habit, it needed moral courage to stand out boldly and champion an unpopular cause. His "Discourse on Temperance" sold largely in this country and the twelfth thousand was prepared to meet the demands in London. His health failing, after a year of travel in Europe, he became Hollis professor in the Harvard Divinity School, and Ralph Waldo Emerson succeeded him as pastor of the Second Church. Born in Boston in 1803

and descended from a long line of ministers, Emerson was as truly a New England Brahmin as Cotton Mather a century and a half before. His father had been minister of the First Church of Boston founded by John Cotton, but dying early left a widow and sons in poverty. Having supported himself for some years by teaching, Emerson, before he was thirty, was regular minister of the Second Church. Although his ministry did not cover four years in all, yet the time was long enough for his people to discover his clear discernment of truth, subtlety of reasoning, and candor of speech, which in after-life gave him world-wide fame. In 1832 he preached the sermon which brought his ministry to a close. The subject was the Lord's Supper. After mature study of the subject he said that he had come to the conclusion that Christ did not intend to establish it as an institution for perpetual observance. Accordingly he had decided that it did not become him to celebrate it. "I am content that it should stand to the end of the world," but "I am not interested in it." This was the view expressed of the holiest mystery of Christianity by a man who stood for three years in the pulpit of Cotton Mather. "It is doubtful," says Barrett Wendell, "whether the

whole literature of heresy contains two phrases which to any mind still affected by traditional Christian faith must seem more saturated with serene insolence." The Second Church could not agree with Mr. Emerson and they parted. Even to-day, unrestrained assertion of individual belief sometimes demands grave self-sacrifice. In Emerson's time it demanded heroic spirit. Dr. Francis Peabody thinks Emerson was not fitted for the work of a minister, and that his view of life and duty would soon have led him to withdraw. He says, "One of the chief services of the Second Church to the world was in giving the young minister an easy escape from the preacher's calling." His sermons were marked by few of those great qualities which he showed later. "His transition to Concord was as if a caged bird had found the liberty of the woods and had at once soared and sung."

In 1833 Chandler Robbins was ordained. The new brick church, built in 1720, had now become old and dilapidated. It was decided to rebuild on the same site. During the rebuilding the Society accepted the hospitality of the Old South, and in recognition of this friendly office gave a silver cup to the Old South, which appears on the table every Com-

munion Sunday in memory of the kindly relations which have existed between these historic churches for more than two hundred years.

Now came a period of great discouragement to the Second Church. The new building was completed in 1845, but many of the families of the church were moving to another part of the town, and in 1849 the building was sold to another religious society. The congregation met for services in Freeman Place Chapel, and later, by a happy union with the Church of the Saviour in Bedford Street, became again strong and united. In 1873 another removal seemed advisable, and the stones, the stained glass windows, the pulpit and organ of the Bedford Street Church were removed to Copley Square. Dr. Robbins remained with the Society until 1874, when, after forty-one years of faithful service, he tendered his resignation. Robert Laird Collier became minister in 1876; through his instrumentality the indebtedness incurred in rebuilding was paid. Edward Augustus Horton became pastor in 1880, Thomas Van Ness in 1893, and later still Mr. Maxwell, at whose coming the church again chose a new home in Audubon Circle. The life of the church has been some 266 years long. The first and second meeting-houses were in North

Square; the third and fourth in Hanover Street; the fifth in Bedford Street, and the sixth in Copley Square.

The Second Church, now, has the reputation of belonging to the high church branch of Unitarianism. It certainly believes in a rather more ornate service than some others. The form in the new church in Aububon Circle is much the same as in the Copley Square church, but with more music. There is a vested choir of men and women in the chancel and a boy choir in the organ loft. The two join in processional and recessional. A prayer-book, compiled largely from Martineau, is used, but extemporaneous prayer is frequent as well. There are two candles in the chancel, and a small brightly colored cloth, changed for various occasions, lies under the Bible on the pulpit. The style of the church suggests the old Colonial, even to the gilded cock on the weather-vane. And in the most commodious parish house, where tea is served socially after the vesper service, there is a Mather room. The bust of Emerson looks down upon the worshipping congregation. This is evidently a church proud of its traditions, and justly so, but not afraid of new experiences, new expression. The church has existed for more than

250 years. During the first half of this time there was probably no greater man of letters than Cotton Mather; during the second half Emerson certainly had no peer; and both served the Second Church.

SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY

[HOLLIS STREET CHURCH]

ACCORDING to the old records, the land for Hollis Street Church was given by Governor Belcher "unto William Pain, Esq., on condition that he with a covenant number would associate themselves together and build a house for the worship of God." This was erected in 1732 where the Hollis Street Theatre now stands—a small wooden edifice, containing forty pews and nine in the gallery. Later, a fine bell was presented by Thomas Hollis of London. Dr. Sewall of the Old South preached the first sermon; and in November of the same year drew up the church covenant, when they voted to call the Rev. Mather Byles, a descendant of the distinguished Mather family and a Harvard graduate, the salary to be three pounds, ten shillings a week. He was earnest and devout, and his letter of acceptance might be taken as a model of its kind. Much has been told of his wit and Tory sympathies; but he refused to introduce politics into the pulpit for several reasons: "In the first place, I do not understand

politics; in the second place, you all do, every mother's son of you; in the third place, you have politics all the week—pray let one day be given to religion; and in the fourth place, I have something better to preach about." Among the early church records of infant baptisms is one revealing the father's tenderness. It reads: "January 12, 1734—My Mather." Dr. Byles had a long, quiet pastorate of forty-four years, until his Tory convictions began to cause trouble among the parishioners, and he was summoned to answer charges against him in August, 1776. The result was most unsatisfactory; therefore, a week later came his dismissal.

In the years following, he was much associated with Episcopalians, as they generally favored the King; but Dr. Byles always remained a staunch Congregationalist. During his last illness the rectors of Christ Church and Trinity paid him a visit. When they inquired how he felt, with a gleam of his old playfulness he replied: "I feel that I am going where there are no more bishops."

While the British soldiers were in Boston they occupied the meeting-house for a time; but after their departure public worship was resumed, and in 1778 Ebenezer Wight was

called to fill the vacant pulpit. He retained the office ten years, when failing health obliged him to resign. During this period occurred the great fire of 1787, which destroyed the church, so that for a year the congregation worshipped with the Old South. In 1788 Dr. Samuel West was installed in the new Hollis Street, a man of culture and experience, noted for his liberality of thought, moderation and discretion. He was accustomed to preach without notes—a decided innovation in those days. Twenty-one years he ministered to the people, then was succeeded by Rev. Horace Holley, a young man of great promise. It was the time when Unitarianism was coming to the front; and Mr. Holley, a graduate of Yale, met the liberal clergymen of Boston and found them differing from the Orthodox, "not only in being liberal, but in having, with as much learning, more simplicity of character, more independence and more kindness." The young minister combined a most attractive personality with a good voice and style of oratory. In after years he was spoken of as the "Theodore Parker of his time," owing to his advanced thought. The congregation so increased that in 1811 a more commodious church was built. It was the high tide of the

prosperity of Hollis Street, and a large choir, known as the Franklin Hall Singing Society, contributed to its success. Yet the brilliant, popular preacher found his intellectual tastes drawing him in another direction; so in 1818 he accepted the presidency of a University in Kentucky, being succeeded by John Pierpont.

He, too, was a Yale graduate, a talented man and poet of some renown, but was cast in a different mould from his predecessor. His thoughts were ever bent on moral reforms, social problems, and national questions. At first he was much beloved by his people, but gradually incurred their displeasure by his fearless attack on different existing evils. Beneath Hollis Street Church was a storage room for rum, and much of the parish wealth was acquired in that business. Finally Mr. Pierpont was tried before a council of ministers on many charges, the chief being his temperance preaching. He was acquitted, but resigned his office in 1845. In 1863 he volunteered as Chaplain of the 22nd Massachusetts Infantry; but the work was too hard for a man over seventy years of age, hence he gave it up reluctantly, after a short trial. The inscription on his monument at Mount Auburn is a fitting tribute to the life of this Christian

warrior: "Poet, Preacher, Philosopher, Philanthropist, Pierpont."

After a brief pastorate of one year by the Rev. David Fosdick, the pulpit was filled by the man who became the most widely known and dearly beloved of all the ministers of Hollis Street Church—Thomas Starr King, who surely deserves more than passing mention. His father, of English descent, was a Universalist clergyman in New York when Starr King was born in 1824. In 1835 the family moved to Charlestown, Mr. King being called to the pastorate of the church in that town. When the boy was fitting for college, his teacher, Joshua Bates, gave him high praise for his "sincerity, purity of heart, honesty of purpose, and uniform gentlemanly deportment." He always looked forward to entering the ministry, but, owing to straitened family circumstances, was forced to give up a college education and to work in a dry-goods store for a while, being there when his father died. At sixteen he was appointed assistant teacher in the Bunker Hill Grammar School, continuing his studies, however, especially the languages and metaphysics. A friend said: "He had a natural affinity for knowledge. Its acquisition was not labor, but a delight." His father was

succeeded in the Charlestown church by the Rev. E. H. Chapin, who became Starr King's lifelong friend. Another dear friend was the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2nd, later President of Tufts College. Following the latter's wise counsel, the youth began a systematic course of study for the ministry. A series of lectures on Natural Religion, given by Prof. Walker at the Lowell Institute, was a great help to him. A letter to his aunt at the age of nineteen reveals his theological tendency at that period.

March 11, 1843. "We have a fine Unitarian preacher in Medford, Rev. C. Stetson, with whom I am intimately acquainted. I have attended his church pretty often, which has occasioned mother some worriment, which you may suppose is no way lessened when I tell her, at least twice a week, that I intend taking a class in his Sabbath School, and studying for the Unitarian ministry. What should you say should I inform you such is my intention? Really, I believe the Unitarian party, as a whole, understand themselves better and are doing a nobler work than the Universalists. Of course, you will not construe these remarks to imply any diminution of faith on my part in the distinctive tenets of the Universalists. I

simply believe that the Unitarians, as a body, are doing more for Liberal Christianity, with all their vagueness upon that point, than the Universalists, with all their dogmatism."

A little extract from Theodore Parker's diary may be of interest: "April 13, 1843. Saw Schoolmaster Thomas Starr King. Capital fellow—only nineteen. Taught school three years—supports his mother. Reads French, Spanish, Latin, a little Greek, and begins German. He is a good listener."

Later on, the young man obtained better compensation by accepting a position as accountant in the Navy Yard, but still looked forward to the ministry as his life-work, pressing onward to that goal. Although many hours were spent in philosophy and metaphysics, yet he was passionately fond of music, painting, and sculpture, and was keenly alive to all that went on around him. His personality was magnetic, his conversation brilliant, and his letters brimful of wit. Yet no one more deeply enjoyed communion with nature, either among the mountains or by the sea, a fact made evident in his book, published in 1849, entitled "The White Hills—Their Legends, Landscapes and Poetry." He preached occasionally from the time he was

twenty; and in 1846 was called to his father's old pulpit, Dr. Chapin having resigned. Here for two years he spoke to an ever-growing congregation, and also entered the lecture field. A discourse on Goethe was an epoch in his life, because it won for him the attention and approbation of the outside public.

As his fame increased, he received calls to other churches, among them one to the Fourth Universalist of New York, but declined them all. Incessant labor and anxieties, however, induced an attack of nervous prostration; yet after a trip to Fayal, which proved beneficial, he accepted a call to Hollis Street Church, and was installed December, 1848. His first work was to build up the parish, which had been weakened by many dissensions. He gave new life to the church and at the same time became more widely known to the people at large. It was a period when lecturing was quite popular, and no one was in greater demand than Mr. King. As a brilliant and eloquent preacher he was admired, but as a man he was loved; being always ready to give his time and strength to help others, with a heart full of sympathy for the needy and distressed. During eleven years he did good service at Hollis Street, and then departed for San Francisco

on a fifteen months' leave of absence, promising to stay a year with the Unitarian church in that city, which was struggling with a heavy debt, also hoping to benefit his health by a change of climate. Again he put forth all his strength; the attendance increased, so that within the year the church was on a firm basis. But when the Civil War broke out, California was wavering in her allegiance to the Union; therefore Starr King, feeling he was more needed on the Pacific Coast, sent his resignation to Hollis Street. The next year he spent all his spare time in travelling throughout the state fighting secession. Even when California's loyalty was assured, he continued the good work by canvassing the whole Northwestern coast in behalf of the Sanitary Commission.

Meanwhile his San Francisco people needed a new church building. He headed the list with a subscription of $1000, and the money came in rapidly. But his strength was failing; yet he had the satisfaction of seeing the beautiful new building dedicated and of preaching a few Sundays; then succumbed to a fatal disease, and entered into rest March 4th, 1864. On the day of the funeral San Francisco was draped in black, flags at half-mast, and minute

guns fired from the United States forts by order of President Lincoln, in recognition of Starr King's services to the country. He gave his life for the nation, dying at the age of thirty-nine. His statue was erected in Golden Gate Park, and was crowned with flowers each Memorial Day. So ended the life of the seventh pastor of Hollis Street Church. In a sermon of after years, Mr. Chaney made a striking comparison when he likened Holley, Pierpont and King to light, heat and electricity; their chief characteristics being reason, moral earnestness, and the enthusiasm of humanity.

After Starr King left Boston, only a few faithful ones kept the church from going to pieces; but eventually George L. Chaney, a young theological student from Harvard and Meadville, received a unanimous call. He was an earnest worker, so that under his guidance Hollis Street resumed and increased its activities. It supported two teachers in the South, one for colored people and one for poor whites, and much helpful work was carried on, beginning with a sewing-school for girls, a whittling-school for boys, and finally an industrial school in 1878. It originated Hospital Sunday collections, the Flower Mission, and had

Wednesday afternoon meetings for Bible study for ten years. As time passed by, and many families had moved away, Mr. Chaney felt that they could no longer sustain a home church in that neighborhood. But instead of following the tide and moving westward, he wanted to reconstruct and enlarge the building where it was, change its character, and make it "of the people and for the people." As these ideas were not accepted by the majority, he reluctantly decided to leave, and preached his farewell sermon in September, 1877. For many years he continued ministerial work in the South. An interesting item was recently noted in the Christian Register: "At the dedication of the new church in Atlanta, Georgia, its first pastor, George L. Chaney, was present, whose influence was so potent in extending the liberal faith in all parts of the South at a critical stage in our denominational life."

His successor was Rev. Henry Bernard Carpenter, who was born in Dublin, but educated in an English college. He was an intellectual, talented man, with his share of Irish eloquence; yet perhaps he was better adapted to the lecture platform or the teacher's profession than the pulpit. However, a

new church was built on Exeter Street in 1884, and Mr. Carpenter remained in office till the Society united with the South Congregational in 1887.

We can only refer briefly to this attractive edifice, the last home of Hollis Street Church, but two beautiful memorial windows are worthy of attention, given in memory of John Pierpont and Starr King. Also the painting in the chancel of a later date—a Nativity, by Miss Ellen Hale, is an interesting study.

Now let us turn our attention to the South Congregational Church. Its early history was summarized in the Fiftieth Anniversary sermon preached by Dr. Hale, February 3, 1878. That half century saw the evolution of Boston from a small, commercial town to one of the large cities of the world. It was marked by a great change in religious thought, and was made ever memorable by the years of our Civil War. This church owed its origin partly to the crowded condition of Hollis Street, then under the ministry of Mr. Pierpont, and a small company of friends from South Boston gave it strong support. Furthermore, at this time there was a club of earnest, public-spirited men seeking to strengthen and promote the religious life of

the city and its organized charities. They started "The Ministry at Large" and "The Industrial Aid Society," also loaned money for church building. Through their assistance and the friends above mentioned, a lot of land was purchased at the corner of Castle and Washington Streets and a building erected, which was dedicated January 30th, 1828. Many old members of Hollis Street hoped to induce the Rev. Horace Holley to return to Boston as pastor of the new church. They had good reason to believe he would accept the position; indeed, he actually sailed from New Orleans with that end in view; but on the way, he died suddenly of yellow fever.

At first, the pulpit was supplied from the Harvard Divinity School but in the spring, Rev. Mellish Irving Motte was installed. The installation service began at the early hour of nine in the morning. Dr. Channing preached the sermon. That sermon was printed and sold at a profit of $100., the money being used to purchase a service of plate for the communion table and some books for the Sunday school. Among the early members was Rev. David Reed, a man of pure, unselfish character, who founded the Christian Register in 1821.

For fifteen years Mr. Motte was a faithful pastor, and during that time the South Friendly Society was formed, which was not only a sewing club, but a means of relief to the sick and aged. Its influence gradually widened, and that Society is active to this day. When Mr. Motte resigned, Mr. F. D. Huntington was called, a man of abundant, youthful energy. While his sermons were full of spiritual life and uplift, yet he was a good organizer, doing much for the Benevolent Fraternity. To quote Dr. Hale, "He said one day that if the Fraternity was worth anything, it was worth more than the driblet we then gave it, and proposed we should give $1000. that year. We raised the money and gave it. The rich down-town churches had hardly dreamed of such lavishness, and here this little church of yesterday—this South End Church, built nobody knew when, and nobody knew by whom, had out-told them all. It wakened all the dead bones; and from a revenue of a few thousands, from that hour to this the Benevolent Fraternity has considered $12,000. as its legitimate annual income!" (That statement was made in 1878.)

In 1856 Harvard College called Mr. Huntington to "a professorship whose incumbent

was to be the minister and spiritual friend of the students." He accepted, much to the regret of his parishioners, and Edward Everett Hale became the next pastor. From that period the church almost dropped its proper name, gradually becoming known as "Dr. Hale's Church." Even to-day it is so listed in that paper which all true Bostonians read Saturday evenings.

For lack of time, we cannot even touch upon his early life, which was so charmingly depicted in "A New England Boyhood," but must pass on to his ministerial work. For ten years preceding the call to Boston he had been preaching in Worcester at the Church of the Unity. Besides his parish work, he gave a helping hand to all the town philanthropies; and it was characteristic of the man that when asked to serve on the school committee, he frankly said he would rather be on the Overseers of the Poor. In 1853 he married Emily Baldwin Perkins, and four years later returned to his boyhood's home, entering his new field of labor. We cannot do justice in a short space of time to the varied activities inaugurated by Dr. Hale; but very dear to his heart was the "Society for Christian Unity" started Christmas, 1858. It was really a be-

ginning of settlement work in Boston, with its different classes for the poor of the neighborhood and its industrial room. Samuel Longfellow and other eminent men assisted by giving free lectures. Then, too, his classes in history and literature for the girls and young women of his parish will be long remembered by those who were fortunate enough to listen to his instruction. In the autumn of 1895 the Citizenship Class began, which immediately follows divine service and is a most important factor of the church work at this present day. It studies the great social problems, aiming to make young people good citizens. Also, we must remember the Tolstoi Club, which was one of the South Congregational activities, although the meetings were held in Parker Memorial.

When the old Castle Street Church was outgrown, it was deemed best to move farther south, so in 1861 they dedicated the new building on Union Park Street, painting on the wall "Glory to God in the Highest." After Richmond fell, they added the remainder, "On Earth Peace, Good Will Among Men."

During the Civil War, both minister and people did faithful service. Dr. Hale said, "I urged on the young men of the congregation

their duty to enlist. I said that the moment enlisting from my church stopped, I should go myself and leave them to do the preaching. I was already a member of a drill corps, and have the pleasure of saying that as sergeant I gave their first instructions to men who came out from the war with high rank. The church made and sent clothing till the war closed. The first teachers who went to Port Royal to teach blacks were my assistant and one of our Sunday-school teachers. The flannel shirts of the Missouri company who fell martyrs at Shiloh were made in our vestry. The editor of the first newspaper published in a rebel prison was one of our boys who had been taken prisoner at Bull Run"—and thus the story continues. Once he went to the front with a dispatch for General Butler. Throughout this trying time the minister had most efficient helpers in Mr. Henry P. Kidder, the well known banker, who gave substantial assistance in carrying on relief work, and Mrs. Sarah E. Hooper, one of the leading women in Sanitary Aid.

In 1863 Dr. Hale wrote for the Atlantic that wonderfully pathetic and patriotic story "The Man Without a Country," which will be read and remembered when other of his writings are entirely forgotten. During war-time

Mr. Fields asked him for articles that "would keep people in good spirits about public affairs." In recognition of his patriotism, he was made honorary member of the Loyal Legion of Massachusetts.

The writer of this sketch well remembers attending service at Union Park Street on the Sunday following the great Boston fire, when the whole city was still shrouded in smoke. Robert Collyer was announced to preach—a fact which usually would have filled the house to overflowing. Yet only a mere handful of people listened to his words, as he spoke with a heart full of emotion, recalling his own sad experience of the preceding year when Chicago was laid in ruins.

It should also be noted that about this period the church began Sunday afternoon vespers, with an excellent choir under the leadership of B. J. Lang. Those were among the first vesper services in the city.

There is little in print of the last of Dr. Hale's life, when he lived those happy, best years with his growing family in the old home on Highland Street, Roxbury; but we know that through them all this great-souled man was ever ready to "lend a hand" and stood shoulder to shoulder with those who were help-

ing the world move onward and upward. That tall figure with the deep-set eyes and the broad-brimmed soft felt hat was familiar to most Bostonians. One of his colleagues called him "the most loved man in America." A sadness that came to his old age was the death of his talented son, Robert Beverly Hale, already a writer of much promise.

During his ministry he had several assistants, among them Rev. Edward Hale, the present pastor* of the Chestnut Hill Church, who served at the South Congregational about four years. While he was there they made another change of location. Lack of room had long hindered their work, and Hollis Street with a small congregation had a large attractive church which was difficult to maintain. So the two united in 1887.

Dr. Hale's last colleague was the Rev. Edward Cummings, and when the former resigned and was made pastor emeritus, Mr. Cummings became the acting pastor in 1900. He still occupies the pulpit, doing good work.

Dr. Hale's eightieth birthday was celebrated by a large gathering in Symphony Hall with appropriate exercises, and many other cities

*Died on March 27, 1918.

also did honor to the occasion. About that time he was appointed Chaplain of the Senate and the last winters of his life were necessarily spent in Washington.

He died in June, 1909, quietly and peacefully, lying on a couch in the library among his books.

So he passed beyond our vision—this preacher and philanthropist, one of the most prominent figures of the nineteenth century. He was ever a little in advance of his time, and some of his writings seem almost prophetic. He has been compared to "a lamplighter who moves rapidly along kindling the torch which will burn after he has gone." In 1885 he preached a remarkable sermon on the twentieth century, in which he spoke of three most urgent necessities of the period: "First, the uplift of the school system so that it should educate men and boys and not be satisfied with their instruction"; which surely seems a hint of the vocational training and other improvements of to-day. "Second, the systematic and intelligent transfer from the crowded regions of the world of men and women who should live in regions not crowded"; a social problem of deep interest at the present moment. "Third, the institution of a Permanent Tri-

bunal for the nations of the world," which is most assuredly the crying need of the time and the hour. A Thanksgiving Day sermon of 1887 outlined the possible High Court of Nations eleven years before the Czar turned his attention to the subject.

We cannot to-day mention his literary work, but just a word respecting his well known motto may be permitted. We all know it by heart, but do we all appreciate its full significance? Dr. Hale's idea was simply Faith, Hope, and Charity—Faith looks up, Hope looks forward, Charity of the mind looks out and is not self-centered, and Charity of the heart lends a hand.

In conclusion, let me say that the key-note of his whole character is struck in a poem unpublished till after his death, entitled:

THE UNNAMED SAINTS

What was his name? I do not know his name.
I only know he heard God's voice and came;
Brought all he loved across the sea
To live and work for God—and me;
Felled the ungracious oak,
With horrid toil
Dragged from the soil
The thrice-gnarled roots and stubborn rock;
With plenty piled the haggard mountain-side,
And, when his work was done, without memorial died.

No blaring trumpet sounded out his fame;
He lived, he died. I do not know his name.

No form of bronze and no memorial stones
Show me the place where lie his mouldering bones;
Only a cheerful city stands,
Builded by his hardened hands,
Only ten thousand homes
Where every day
The cheerful play
Of love and hope and courage comes;
These are his monuments, and these alone,
There is no form of bronze and no memorial stone.

And I?
Is there some desert or some boundless sea
Where thou, great God of angels, wilt send me?
Some oak for me to rend, some sod,
Some rock for me to break,
Some handful of thy corn to take
And scatter far afield,
Till it in turn shall yield
Its hundred-fold
Of grains of gold
To feed the happy children of my God?
Show me the desert, Father, or the sea.
Is it thine enterprise? Great God, send me!
And though this body lie where ocean rolls,
Father, count me among all faithful souls.

This poem fitly illustrates the watchword of Dr. Hale's life, *Service—service* to man and to God.

FIRST CHURCH IN ROXBURY

In the center of Eliot Square, Roxbury, stands a beautiful old edifice said to be the finest type of Puritan meeting-house left in New England. It is the historic old First Church of Roxbury. But a few minutes removed from the Babel of Dudley Street or the busy lanes of modern three-deckers, it sits in its spacious shaded grounds, a venerable relic of those uncrowded, unhurried days when land was not measured by the precious coveted foot, nor economy of time by grave consideration.

The history of this church is coincident with the history of the colony for the first century and a half of its existence. For nearly 100 years it was the only church in what is now Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury and a part of Brookline, and for nearly 200 years it was the only church within the limits of Roxbury proper.

Its distinguished line of ministers from the Apostle Eliot to the beloved Dr. DeNormandie, would be an honor and glory to any church, and its members have included many eminent men, some of national fame. The roll of its membership is largely made up

of names of Boston's most distinguished families, such as Eliot, Curtis, Seaver, May, Ruggles, Dudley, Heath, and Warren of Revolutionary fame. And it is the pride of its members that on this spot *without a break,* services of worship have been maintained from the founding of the church to the present day —a period of 285 years. As Dr. DeNormandie once said of another institution "Merely to have *existed* for nearly three centuries would merit our respect" without its wealth of tradition and useful work for humanity.

In 1630 the great Puritan Exodus from England took place. Before that time only two Puritan settlements existed in New England, one at Plymouth and one at Salem; but in this year under the leadership of Gov. John Winthrop, their Moses, between April and December one thousand persons landed on these shores, and dividing, made settlements at Boston, Watertown, Dorchester, and a few went on to Roxbury. And this little handful of men and women who had left home and friends and comforts for conscience' sake climbed Rocksborough Hill and set up their little Bethel in the Wilderness.

The larger numbers settling in Boston,

Watertown, and Dorchester were able that same year to gather a church in each of those settlements; and if we count the beginning of a church from the time a group of people assemble to worship together, whether under roof or tree, then undoubtedly the Roxbury church began no later than the other three, for John Eliot's records begin "William Pinchon, he came in the first company" (the first three ships to arrive) "he was the first foundation of the church in Roxbury." He then names several other families of that "first company" and "first foundation"; and when we remember the dangers and the loneliness they had to face, we cannot doubt that these devout Puritans would meet together to ask for God's guidance and protection as soon as they had chosen their place of settlement. But we usually count the foundation of a church from the signing of its covenant or the ordaining of its first pastor. The covenant of this church was probably destroyed with the other records of the first dozen years in the burning of John Johnson's house, but tradition, supported by early historians, says the church was founded in 1631, and the inscription under the clock in the gallery of the present church reads: "This

church was gathered in 1631," thus making it the sixth church established in New England.

For a year and more, when the weather permitted, the settlers followed the path through the forest to worship with the church at Dorchester "until such time as God should give them ability to have a church among themselves," as the records say; but in the summer of 1632, in a rough log building, but their own, their first minister, Rev. Thomas Weld, was ordained; and on this same site four other churches have successively been built as each in turn has been out-grown or out-worn. Tradition says this first meeting-house was of logs with a thatched roof and clay floor, and with no steeple, bell, pulpit, pews nor gallery. Its dimensions, 30 feet long by 20 feet wide and 12 feet high, and it could seat 120 persons.

Plain benches on either side separated the men from the women, and one end was reserved for the boys, with a tithing man to keep them in order; and in this little rough unheated building, called by beat of drum, the devoted Puritans gathered in all seasons and in all weathers to worship.

The church, as in other colonies, was the center of the entire life of the community. All houses were at first required to be built within

a half mile of it. Here all public meetings were held, and the outside walls were sometimes well nigh covered with notices of every kind of meeting, orders of the town, lists of town officers, laws against Sabbath breaking, announcement of sales, rules about Indians, marriage intentions, etc., and not infrequently the heads of fresh slain wolves were nailed under the windows to prove the bounty due the successful hunter.

As the church was enlarged and rebuilt, it was sometimes put to strange uses. In times of abundant harvests the farmers were allowed to store their surplus grain in the church loft. And as there was no fire in the building it was considered the safest place to store the gun powder of the settlement, especially after the burning of John Johnson's house when 18 barrels were exploded. Sometimes it was stored on the beams of the roof and later in the steeple that was added to the building; so when a thunder storm came up during the church services the people sometimes took refuge in the woods, fearing an explosion.

Close behind the church were the stocks and pillory to strike terror to the hearts of evil doers, for this church like its Puritan sisters constituted the sole government of the settle-

ment. For thirty-five years non-members had but slight voice in civil affairs; none at first, but the complaint was made that when non-church members were tried for an offence they were tried and judged by their adversaries, and the Puritans conceded the justice of this reproach, and soon allowed them to serve upon juries and to vote on matters of taxation.

It was the church that took note of every offence against the peace and welfare of the community, and dealt severe public punishment upon the transgressor. The atmosphere of every home was known and every shortcoming noted. New-comers were closely scanned and if their lives were unrighteous they were brought to open confession and repentance or banished from the colony. No faults were overlooked, yet all was for the regeneration of the offender, and we find in one place the stern hope expressed that the "full proceedings of discipline will do more good than their sin hath done hurt," and when we consider the amount of moral courage required to face a whole congregation and confess to a lie, to drunkenness, to short measure, or to a "passionate tongue" we are inclined to think the hope was fulfilled!

Yet with all their severity these men sought

only to interpret and execute God's will, and that they saw his hand in every event is proved by the records, which reveal so much of the character as well as the life of the people. The ministers were the historians of all events thought important to be remembered, and their records make up most of the history we have of those early years. The Apostle Eliot records in 1643 "There happened this year by God's providence a very dreadful fire in Roxbury"—and after describing it and telling how the wind seemed sure to carry it to other buildings he adds that "as a special mark of God's favor the wind suddenly shifted," and the houses were saved.

This record at another time interested me, as we have considered the caterpillar pests a thing of recent years. "This year we had a strange hand of God upon us that upon a sudden innumerable arrays of caterpillars filled the country over all the English plantations. They would go across the highways by 1000" —and after telling of their destruction of the grain, etc., he says, "Much prayer was made to God about it, and with fasting at divers places, and the Lord heard us, and on a sudden took them all away again in all parts of the country to the wonderment of all men. It

was of the Lord for it was done suddenly." (Probably they did not notice the sudden appearance of many butterflies!)

And this record may interest some of us who have been recently afflicted with "grippe."

"This year the Lord did lay upon us a great sickness epidemical so that the great part of the town were sick at once, whole families, young and old. The manner of sickness is a deep cold with some tincture of fever and much malignity, and very dangerous if not well regarded by keeping a low diet and the body warm and sweating. God's rods are teaching us. Our epidemical sickness of colds doth rightly by divine hand, tell us what our epidemical spiritual disease is. Lord help us to see it. This visitation of God was exceedingly strange, as if He sent an angel forth, not with sword to kill, but with rod to chastise." But he sorrowfully adds: "Yet for all this, it is the frequent complaint of many wise and godly among us that little reformation is to be seen of our chief wrath provoking sins, such as pride, covetousness, animosities, personal neglect of gospelizing the young, etc. Drinking houses are multiplied, not lessened, and Quakers, openly tolerated!"

The strict watch kept over the morals of

trade is shown by such records as this: "The wife of William Webb, she followed baking, and through her covetous mind she made light weight, and after many admonitions flatly denying that after she had weighed her dough she 'nimed' off bits from each loaf, which yet four witnesses testified to be common, if not a practice. For all which gross sins she was excommunicated, but afterward was reconciled to the church, and lived christianly and dyed comfortably."

With all this oversight of civil affairs conceived to be a part of their religious duties the work of the ministers was very arduous. Two services were held on Sunday with a short interval between. Each consisted of first the long prayer, usually about an hour in length, then the reading and expounding of a portion of the scriptures, a hymn lined and sung as previously described, then the sermon, frequently over an hour long, and lastly the short prayer and blessing. One week-day lecture was also held and frequent services of fasting and humiliation or thanksgiving, though they did not observe the regular festival days, as Christmas, or Easter; and strangely enough the minister did not officiate at weddings, nor was there any religious ser-

vice at the burial of the dead. When we add to all these labors the recording of all events of the settlement, we do not wonder at the custom of settling two ministers over each church, one called the minister and one the teacher, although their offices do not seem to have been very distinct, and evidently were held in equal honor.

Two months after ordaining Thomas Weld as their first pastor, the church called John Eliot to be their teacher. And now we come to the most picturesque and one of the most lovable and godly men ever connected with New England, John Eliot, known since to all the Christian world as the Apostle to the Indians. Edward Everett Hale once said that he considered John Endicott and John Eliot the two most remarkable men in the history of New England. Dean Stanley, when he visited America, said there were two places he wished most of all to see: The spot where the Pilgrims landed, and the place where John Eliot preached to the Indians.

Volumes have been written of the life and character of this man to whom the things of the spirit were more real than the affairs of every day life, yet his only genius was absolute devotion to duty, and his one inquiry, "What

is the will of the Master?" Of his early life we know little, except that he was born in England of Puritan parents and his early years were as he says "seasoned with the fear of God, the Word, and Prayer." He received a classical education at Jesus College, Cambridge, and after graduation taught for a time in the school of Thomas Hooker, later the first minister of the church at Cambridge; and the beauty of the religious life of this family so impressed young Eliot that he then and there resolved to be a Christian minister even though the only prospects of a Puritan minister at that time were fines, imprisonments, and persecutions. He soon left England, however, and came to Massachusetts in 1631. In the absence of Mr. Wilson in England, he preached for a time for the First Church in Boston, and so pleased that congregation that they urged him to become their regular pastor; but he had promised friends in England that if he were not settled when they came to New England, he would be their minister. These friends had now come and settled in Roxbury, and that church now called him to the office of teacher, which he accepted, though Gov. Winthrop records that "the First Church labored all they could both with him and with the Rox-

bury congregation, alleging their need of him, yet he could not be diverted from accepting the Roxbury call." Early in the fall of 1632, he was ordained as teacher there, and for nearly sixty years served church and colony as few men have ever had grace or zeal to do. So universally was he revered that Cotton Mather says: "There was a tradition among us that the country could never perish while Eliot was alive." He is usually called the first minister of the church, for his ministry was so long and so distinguished and unique that it quite overshadowed that of his colleague, Thomas Weld, who was really the first to be ordained. Thomas Weld was highly regarded in his day as scholar and preacher, and especially did he have a keen nose for heresies. Both he and Eliot bore witness against Anne Hutchinson at her trial for heresy, where she was convicted and banished from the settlement. The members of their church who supported her were also excommunicated after vain endeavors to convince them of their error.

After nine years Thomas Weld was sent on some commission to England and never returned. Samuel Danforth was chosen as Eliot's second colleague, and for twenty-four years they worked together in great harmony

and affection. During their ministry the first Sunday school in the New World was formed in their church. Eliot's insistence upon education was one of his noted characteristics. At one time when the ministers of all surrounding churches were gathered to discuss ways of overcoming disorders, Eliot exclaimed in a most impassioned manner: "O for schools everywhere among us! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school in the town where he lives! Lord grant before we die that we may see a good school in every plantation of this country!" And Cotton Mather writes, "God so blessed his endeavors that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town"; and so was founded in 1645 the noted preparatory school now called the Roxbury Latin School, only two schools in America preceding it—the Boston Latin School and Harvard College,—and from that day till this the minister and two deacons of this church have been among the trustees of that school. Eliot also founded the Eliot School in Jamaica Plain. John Eliot, Thomas Weld and Richard Mather prepared a new version of the Psalms, called the Bay Psalm Book. It was not regarded as a great success and much good

natured ridicule was aimed at it. The authors themselves seemed to be aware of some shortcomings, for the preface makes the dignified statement that they "have attempted conscience rather than elegance, and if the verses seem not so smooth as could be wished, let it be considered that God's altars need no polishing."

Mather says: "He who would write of Eliot must speak of his charity or say nothing. He did not put off his charity to be put in his last will, but was his own administrator. His own hands were his executors, and his own eyes his overseers." He constantly gave away nearly the whole of his salary to the poor, the sick and the Indians, and constantly importuned his more wealthy parishioners to share in his charities. The treasurer of the church, knowing his propensities, once tied his salary in a handkerchief making as many hard knots as possible in the ends, hoping he would reach home with it intact. But he stopped on the way to visit a poor family where much sickness was, and after fumbling vainly at the knots he gave the whole parcel to the mother saying, "Here my dear, take it, I believe the Lord designs it all for you!"

Mrs. Eliot, whom he married soon after coming to Massachusetts, was a remarkable

woman who looked well after the ways of her household; and it was due to her thrift and industry that they were able to show such charity and hospitality, for he knew so little about the practical affairs of the family that he did not recognize his own cattle before his door, when his wife, to try him, asked whose they were. One of their descendants says he believes his ancestress must have been the first Christian Scientist and nourished her family on mental suggestion, since her husband with his charities and generosities left her little else.

For all that, they were able to send their four sons to Harvard College, and though the fare of that home was extremely simple and frugal, they were rarely without some guest, frequently some poor or sick or aged person without home of his own; and one act of hospitality seems to me most noteworthy. Feeling was very bitter, as you know, between the Jesuits and the Puritans; each thought the other's doctrine pernicious, yet a Jesuit priest passing through New England was invited to Eliot's house and even asked to make that his headquarters for the winter! Could Puritan hospitality go farther?

Eliot was a loving father, yet very strict in the education of his children, according to

Cotton Mather, being "more careful to mend an error in their hearts and lives than he would have been any blemish of their bodies." Of their six children only two survived the parents, three sons dying in young manhood, one of whom had been his assistant for some years. Of this grief he makes this touching entry in his diary: "I had hoped that my children would serve God on earth, but if it is His wish that they serve Him in Heaven, His will be done."

But though the good works of this good man are legion, it was his wonderful missionary work among the Indians that won him fame and honor throughout the Christian world. As he saw and mingled with them in forest and settlement the thought came to him that these poor red men were children of God no less than the English and should be brought to know him. (And this when the English in general thought the only good Indian a dead one!) They were far too indolent to learn the English language to an extent to make his religious teaching possible, so he decided to teach them in their own tongue. He believed, as many then did, that the Indians belonged to the lost tribes of Israel and that he should find traces of Hebrew in their language.

In his own words: "God first put into my heart a compassion for their poor souls and a desire to teach them to know Christ and bring them into His kingdom. Then by God's providence I found a pregnant witted young Indian who had been a servant in an English family and who pretty well understood our language, better than he could speak it, and well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation. Him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's prayer and many texts of scripture, also I compiled exhortations and prayers. I diligently marked the difference between their grammar and ours, and when I found the way of them I would pursue the word, noun or verb, through all the variations I could think of. And thus I came to it. We must not sit still and wait for miracles. Up and be doing and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." He finally decided to translate the whole Bible into the Indian language. Think what an undertaking it would be to translate the whole Bible into French or German, with all our knowledge of those languages, and the assistance that would be available. But to acquire a

barbarous dialect, through conversation, to develop its principles of etymology, to make it express more noble thoughts than the race ordinarily experienced, then to transcribe into that speech both Old and New Testaments, and then to supervise the printing, when only one of the three printers understood a word of the copy! This was the task this man set himself to do, unaided in the wilderness, when he was forty-two years old, and it took nineteen years of his life. It has been called the most wonderful achievement in the history of literature. Besides two editions of the Bible he also published eight other books in the Indian language.

But while performing this labor of love, mostly at night by the light of tallow candles, his endeavors to civilize the Indians were never ceasing. For years he held an evening school for the Indians in his own house, which stood where the People's Band now stands, and by day he worked among them, teaching them the work and ways of civilized men—accomplishing wonderful results at his model town, Natick—and on his missionary journeys, taken every other week, he travelled throughout the forests of Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire, teaching and preaching, under tree or in

wigwam, nursing the sick, ministering to both soul and body. No hardship of hunger, cold or weariness could daunt him nor threat from hostile chief turn him back. In a letter he writes: "I have not been dry from the third day to the sixth but wring out my stockings at night and put them on again and so continue. *But God steps in and helps!*" Four years after beginning the study of the language, he first preached to the Indians in their own tongue in Chief Wabon's wigwam in Newton. A tablet now marks the spot. After the short sermon which they entirely understood they crowded around to ask him questions. "How did the English know about God, and the Indians not, if he were the father of them all? Could Jesus understand prayers in the Indian language? How came the world to be full of people if all were once drowned? How could there be an image of God if it were forbidden in the commandments? May a good man sin sometimes, or may he be a good man and yet sin sometimes?" The Apostle's answers are not recorded.

Of the extent of his labors in teaching the Indians so that one third of all the tribes in New England were his pupils; of their veneration of him; of his sorrow when the Eng-

lish distrusted and persecuted his "praying Indians" at the time of King Philip's war, there is no time to tell here, but his love and labor for them never ceased while his life lasted. On the day of his death he was found teaching an Indian child the alphabet. But in 1690 this wonderful old man went to his rest saying "all his labors had been but weak and small!"

Samuel Danforth had made possible the Apostle Eliot's work with the Indians, by relieving him as much as possible from the work of the church, and this had so increased in numbers that it was found necessary to build a much larger building, which was completed in 1674 and served its purpose until 1741. But Mr. Danforth was never to preach in the new building. He died only four days after the church was ready for use. He had been a most eloquent and scholarly preacher, and the love of his people is well expressed in this bit of eulogy in verse:

"Mighty in scripture, searching out the sense,
All the hard things of it unfolding thence,
He lived each truth, his faith, love, tenderness,
None can to the life as did his life express.
Our minds with gospel his rich lecture fed,
Luke and his life at once are finished,
Our new-built church now suffers, too, by this,
Larger its windows, but its lights are less."

After the death of Samuel Danforth the Apostle Eliot was the only minister of the church for fourteen years; but in 1688, two years before his death, to his great joy Rev. Nehemiah Walter became his third colleague and succeeded him in the ministry. The aged Apostle himself ordained him as pastor and teacher, thus uniting the offices which were never afterwards separated. His ministry was even longer than Eliot's, being over sixty years, the continuation of the ministry of these men extending over 120 years. Mr. Walter was one of the most distinguished scholars and preachers of New England, and Dr. Chauncy thought him one of the most brilliant men in America.

Dr. DeNormandie says: "There is probably no church in New England where the standard of scholarly and pulpit gifts has been so high, and none which has had such a proportion of acknowledged leaders in the community."

Probably no church either has had the ministry of so few men extend over so long a period. In the 285 years but twelve men have been ministers of this church and the continuous ministry of eight men covers the entire history of the church.

During Walter's long ministry the population of the town had so increased that it became necessary to have a church in the extreme western portion of the town. The First Church was won to reluctant consent and in 1712 was formed the Second Society of Roxbury, which a century and a half later became famous as the Theodore Parker Church,—and later in 1769 from this society and the parent church was formed The First Congregational Church of Jamaica Plain, the Middle Society.

Thomas Walter, the gifted son of Rev. Nehemiah, was ordained minister of the First Church in 1718 when he was but twenty-two years old and assisted his father ably for six years, when his brilliant career was cut off by his death, of consumption. Of the genius and bright promise of this young man many eminent men of that day have written. Cotton Mather and Dr. Chauncy speak in his praise in the most superlative terms, and one of his sermons has been pronounced "the most beautiful of all those handed down to us from the fathers." But in the First Church he is especially remembered for his improvement of the singing of the congregation by introducing to them the art of singing by note. It is said he was "grieved beyond measure and annoyed

as well by the performances in the sanctuary" which he said "sounded like 500 different tunes roared out at once with so little attention paid to time that often they were one or two words apart producing noises so hideous as to be beyond expression." He therefore published a book entitled "The Grounds and Rules of Singing Explained or an Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. Fitted to the Meanest Capacity." And no doubt it was warmly welcomed.

The second church building had undergone many changes to fit it to the needs of the growing congregation. Galleries had been added with rear seats elevated. Pews too had taken the place of seats "except where the boys do sit." The boys seems to have been a problem from the first, for the records bear several complaints of them. When the galleries were built they were seated in one end, but soon those sitting below complained they were unable to worship for the disturbance the boys did make, and in 1730 the vote is recorded that "boys under fourteen years of age shall be restrained from going into the galleries in time of worship." When the first square pews were built the seats folded up when the congregation rose to pray, and complaint is made that

the boys slammed down the seats at the Amen. It would seem that the Puritan laddies were not so very different from the present day variety, and probably confirmed their elders in the belief in original sin.

In 1741 a much larger church was erected, but was enjoyed only a short time, for three years later it was burned. The fire was thought to have been caused by an overheated foot stove, forgotten and left in a pew, and some thought it a judgment of God upon the love of ease and luxury that was creeping into the church; for until the bringing in of foot stoves the church had always been entirely without heat, though some had been in the habit of taking their dogs to church and resting their feet upon them through the long services. It was not until 1820 in the present church that stoves were first used, though attempts to introduce them had been made several years before that time. The congregation worshipped in the brick schoolhouse, close by, until a new and fourth building on the same plan and site of the preceding one was ready for occupancy in 1746. This was the church that was to witness and also bear its part in the stormy days of the Revolution. The new church was adorned by a fine porch, a spire

for the belfry, a bell cast by Paul Revere, and a handsome clock, and two front pews were set apart as *free* pews for the poor of the parish, or sometimes for the use of guests. Rev. Nehemiah Walter died in 1750 and was succeeded by Oliver Peabody. He lived only eighteen months but built a parsonage which was used by succeeding ministers for nearly a century and is still standing, known as the Charles K. Dillaway house.

Amos Adams, the patriot preacher, came next. He was an eloquent preacher and well loved by his people for his sterling virtues, though they sometimes found his plain speaking a little trying, for he told them of their sins with the utmost frankness and without fear or favor. He was scribe of the convention of ministers which met in 1775 and recommended the people to take up arms. No public meetings could be held in the church during most of the years 1775 and 1776, for during the siege of Boston it was a constant target for the British cannon and the steeple was shattered by cannon balls and the church pierced in several places elsewhere.

The pews and bell and communion plate were removed for safety and the building used as a signal station by the Continental troops.

The lawn in front of the church was used as a camping ground for our forces, and here Washington reviewed the troops, while the parsonage was used as headquarters for General Thomas, who from its upper windows watched the battle of Bunker Hill. Most of the congregation fled to various parts of the country and Pastor Adams removed his family to some distance, but he stayed on, gathering the little remnant of his flock together every Sunday in front of the church and preaching to them and to the soldiers till his death in the fall of 1775, which was the result of exposure in preaching in the open air. At the time of his death he was chaplain of the 9th Continental Regiment of 900 men.

The Boston Gazette in giving notice of his death said: "His people refuse to be comforted."

Throughout the rest of the troubled Revolutionary days the church had no settled pastor until Rev. Elipalet Porter was called to be their minister in 1782, which office he filled for 57 years. He was a thorough scholar and a quiet but impressive preacher; never bigoted nor dogmatic, and avoiding controversy whenever possible. But as pastor and citizen he was pre-eminent, and widely loved and hon-

ored. He held many offices of public trust and was an Overseer of Harvard College. It was during his ministry that the great change in Theology swept over New England, and a follower of Channing, he quietly led his church into the Liberal Faith, it is said "with hardly a dissenting voice." A sermon he preached in 1810 before the Annual Convention of Congregational Ministers in Boston roused much excitement by its bold defence of the principles of Liberalism and seemed to crystallize the new beliefs that had been growing for some years in his church, and from that time the church was considered Unitarian.

In that sermon he names the disputed articles of faith, the doctrines of total depravity, original sin, of the Trinity in Unity, the absolute Diety of Christ, eternal punishment of the wicked, etc., and said: "I cannot place my finger on any one article in the list of doctrines mentioned, the belief or rejection of which I consider as essential to Christian faith or character. I believe that an innumerable company of Christians who never heard of these articles, or who are divided in their opinions respecting them, have fallen asleep in Jesus, and innumerable of the same description are following after."

In 1830, three years before the death of Dr. Porter, Dr. George Putnam was ordained associate pastor.

But in the meantime it had been found desirable to build a new church building, and in 1804 the present and fifth building was completed.

Tradition says that Bulfinch, the architect of the State House, had something to do with the plans, but whether or not that is true, the result was one of the most beautiful meeting-houses in New England. It has a seating capacity of about 1000. Simplicity is its most striking feature. It has no stained glass windows, but memorial tablets to several of its ministers and noted laymen have been placed upon the walls, and the Apostle Eliot's chair stands beneath the pulpit. I can do no better than to quote Dr. DeNormandie's description of it: "Its fine proportions deceive one as to its great size, while its large, roomy, and comfortable pews, its gracefully hung and spacious galleries, its perfect acoustic properties, and the simplicity of its whole finish, together with the associations of over a hundred years, make every one feel at once that this is a church of the living God, fragrant with the sentiment of worship for 100 years, and its massive timbers

give promise of fulfilling the purposes of worship for another century." Such slight remodelling as has been found necessary has been done with such regard for its beauty of proportions that the perfect harmony of the whole has not been disturbed.

Yet there was some objection at the time to the building of so elegant a church, as this entry from a private diary shows: "April 18, 1803. This day the meeting-house of the First Parish of this town was begun to be torn down. It was not half worn out and might have been repaired with a saving of $10,000 to the parish. Whether every generation grows wiser, it is evident they grow more fashionable and extravagant." But when the pews in the new church were sold, a surplus of $8,000 was divided among the tax payers of the parish, and they have never been in debt since, for the parish has always been a wealthy one. Even in the days of the Apostle Eliot we find the statement "The people of Roxbury are all very rich!" and through all its history the church has been noted for its generous contributions to worthy causes.

Dr. Putnam's ministry of 48 years was one of the most remarkable of all. It was said he was unsurpassed and hardly equalled for

impressive eloquence by any clergyman in New England. Many living to-day bear testimony to the noble life and teaching of this man.

John Graham Brooks was his colleague and successor from 1875 to 1882, when he resigned to study sociology and later became the noted lecturer on economic subjects.

In 1883 James DeNormandie, the present pastor, was ordained minister of that church, James Freeman Clarke preaching the ordination sermon, and Edward Everett Hale giving the address to people and pastor. Dr. De-Normandie is too well known and loved among Bostonians to need more than brief mention here. He was the dear friend of Dr. Ames and Edward Everett Hale. (Dr. Hale always occupied a pew there when he attended church.) As pastor, preacher, scholar, author, and historian he has added lustre to the distinguished line of ministers of that church and no predecessor has ever been better loved by his people.

The surroundings of this spot have greatly changed during the last generation, and a large proportion of the congregation have removed to towns too distant to permit of more than infrequent attendance at church services, yet their allegiance to this venerated church

never wavers and they are always responsive to every need and interest. What its work in the future will be is perhaps not yet determined, yet no surrounding population ever had more need of its ideals and its ministry than those that now so closely press around its borders, and that it will find ways of service to meet the new conditions they who know its history and ideals cannot doubt.

FIRST PARISH, WEST ROXBURY

[THEODORE PARKER'S CHURCH]

ON the corner of Centre and Church Streets, West Roxbury, there stood until a few years ago a deserted meeting-house. It was hallowed ground and a landmark in the olden times to travellers passing in the coach from Providence and Dedham. This was the second meeting-house built by the First Parish of West Roxbury. The history of this church is quite as distinguished as those we have heard of before this winter, and the men who gathered here took a prominent part in laying the nation's foundations.

In 1776 the Declaration of Independence was read from the pulpit, and the people who heard it helped to make it a reality. For some months before, the rumbling of the guns on Roxbury Heights that guarded the "Neck" was heard from the steps of this house. Back of Weld Hill, nearby, was the spot selected by Washington for a rallying place in case of defeat; it commanded the road to Dedham and the supplies for the Continental Army about Boston.

Later, from 1836 to 1846, other declarations of independence, those of human reason and

conscience, were preached here by a young man named Theodore Parker. As long as the church was used, strangers came from long distances to sit in quiet meditation and cherish the memories connected with Mr. Parker's ministry. The First Parish was born in freedom and nurtured in its love. The first consideration of the Puritans after landing was to gather a meeting and build a church, and to the honor of Roxbury, almost the next was to build the first public school, afterwards the Boys' Latin School. After gathering for a time with a meeting established in Dorchester, the First Church of Roxbury was built in 1632 with Thomas Weld minister. This is the Mother Church from which the "Second Church of Christ" in Roxbury, afterwards the "First Parish," West Roxbury, sprang.

People settled fast, and far and wide spread the bounds of Rocksborough, westerly, to Jamaica End or Spring Street, along the Dedham highway. The roads were bad, sometimes in winter almost impassable, and distances so great that it was well-nigh impossible for settlers to get to meeting, and yet it was the bread of life to these simple God-loving people, and the pillory and stocks were in evidence to keep them to their duty. At a

time when men frequently lost their lives in going from Boston to Roxbury by the "Neck" (Indians lurked behind the trees), this was very serious; still to the sound of drum and shell they gathered, though many people lived too far off to hear this call.

From early times the people of Roxbury were noted for industry and thrift. It is said that "In the room of dismal swamps they have goodly fruit trees, beautiful fields and gardens, a herd of cows, oxen and other young cattle of that kind, about 350." It is written in a book published in London in 1639 that "Boston is a town of very pleasant situation, two miles northeast of Rocksborough," and of Rocksborough it says: "It is well wooded, a fine and handsome country town, the inhabitants all being very rich."

At last, in 1706, Joseph Weld and forty-four others in West Roxbury petitioned the General Court to be made into a separate precinct, freed from taxes to the Roxbury Parish, and for aid to build a meeting-house. This was not granted, so these men built a crude house themselves in what is now Roslindale, back of Green Hill; the remains of the old cemetery can still be seen. A covenant was drawn up, more a statement of purpose than

a creed, pledging themselves to strive for righteousness and a prayer for help to faithfully watch over each other's souls, and a call for all to join and make these things a reality in this west-end of Roxbury called Spring Street. It is little wonder that a church founded upon it should listen with joy to the strong words of the 19th century Prophet.

The records state that this Second Church was "gathered by Nehemiah Walter, Nov. 2nd, 1712," so the separation from the parent church was finally made in good will, and on November 26th the first minister, Ebenezer Thayer, was installed. The records are very meagre, but written by Mr. Thayer, who furnished this first record book "for the use of ye church in the west end of Roxbury." Many are the entries of birth, baptism, marriage and death, and of wrongdoers confessing publicly in the broad aisle. After eighteen years Mr. Thayer died, and a unanimous vote called Rev. Nathaniel Walter to them. He was the son of Nehemiah, who gathered the church, and of Sarah, daughter of Increase Mather; he was with the parish forty-two years, honored and beloved.

The notes of the Parish and Precinct meetings are interesting, for both were held in the

church, church and state being one. It was a great rallying place where everything was talked over and decided. The amount of the minister's salary is noted and how it should be levied, also arrangements for providing his firewood. The vote of forty-five pounds to defray expenses of Mr. Walter's ordination festivities and ten pounds tax "for to anchor the meeting house, every one to contribute and mark his money and have credit therefor in this rate." Mr. Walter had a long illness and year after year the records show how money was voted to help their Rev. Pastor supply his pulpit in his sickness; finally Rev. Thomas Abbott was made colleague. In 1773 the records report that "this day the church abolish ye ancient custom of persons making confession in ye broad aisle," and again, "Ye old version of the psalms was laid aside and Dr. Watts' hymns were established."

The community grew rapidly and people in Jamaica Plain were so far from the Walter Street Church that a Third Church of Christ in Roxbury was organized —until last July Rev. Charles F. Dole's parish—and the first child of the Second Church.

For sixty-one years the people had used this church on Walter Street, but though en-

larged and repaired it had outgrown its needs so in 1773 after a seven years' debate for and against rebuilding it was voted "To pull down the old meeting-house and use as much of the same as will answer toward building a new one." This second building on the corner of Centre and Church Streets, West Roxbury, was built mostly by the people themselves. It was square and painted white but had no steeple until remodelled in 1821 when a beautiful spire was added and in this form it remained until pulled down when scarred by fire many years after Parker's day. The pews were sold outright and transmitted by will from generation to generation. The first wall pew sold for sixty pounds to the highest tax payer, reducing twenty shillings on each until all were sold; those in the body of the church started at thirty pounds reducing five shillings on each until sold; a few seats were reserved for the poor and for colored members.

It was voted that those people who wished to build stables back of the house have liberty to build; they were soon built by a committee of twenty-five men who also levelled the earth about the church.

This second church was built in stirring times and the people who learned freedom in

the precinct meetings took active part in mending the evil times, along with Lexington, Concord and Dedham. The men of Roxbury answered to the call of Samuel Adams "that a love of liberty and a zeal to support it may enkindle in every town." The church became a center for talk and action, political and religious, its members joined the army and there is a tradition that a company of Colonial troops marched down the broad aisle one day to receive the blessing of the pastor before joining Washington's army.

After the tea-party in Boston Harbor the mothers of West Roxbury did well not to inquire too closely where their boys had been that night. Absolute quiet reigned, until late at night the men returned and brought the stirring news.

The Declaration of Independence is written in the faded old record book and it was read from the pulpit one Sabbath to a silent congregation. Many of the men's seats were vacant, a cloud of uncertainty hung over the little church, for both men and women knew what that Declaration meant to those they loved, still they never wavered but remained steadfast, full of courage.

On January 26th, 1776, while recruits were

heard passing by the meeting-house, in precinct meeting regularly assembled, this vote was gravely passed, "As it had been the practise for many years, after the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, for the remainder of the wine to be used by any person present and as it answers no good end and as that article is scarce and dear the church voted that no more wine should be given after Sacrament." After a battle of three years' duration between the singers and some members of the congregation, the singers won and the custom of deaconing the psalms was given up forever in that church. The account is very amusing for when Brother after Brother refused to tune the psalm a committee was appointed to find a member who *would* and it reported they found nobody at home where they called!

In George Whitney's ministry a new and more liberal covenant was adopted signed by only five persons, one his wife, still it led the way one more step towards preparing the people for the next preacher.

Now begins the richest period of this parish which added so greatly to its already illustrious fame, the memory of which is a source of pride and joy to all succeeding ministers and con-

gregations, namely the nine years' pastorate of Theodore Parker. In 1836 this young man, fresh from the Harvard Divinity School, was preaching here and there, waiting for a call. He was noted for his high intellectual attainments, a wide range of knowledge, as a master of twenty languages and for being an inveterate student and reader. Also his liberal theology and a leaning towards transcendentalism (a very obnoxious and little understood term at the time) was causing alarm among the orthodox so it is little wonder that he was a year waiting for a settled pulpit. Meanwhile he preached in many towns and was married to Miss Lydia Cabot when in a very uncertain state as to what salary he would have wherewith to support her.

Finally a call came from the Spring Street Society of West Roxbury on May 23rd, 1837, where he had made an excellent impression several times and he gladly accepted on a salary of six hundred dollars,—less than he was offered at two other places. With his friend, Dr. Francis, and the Boston and Cambridge bookstores within walking distance and his great love of country life, this choice was a happy one. The ordination ceremony on June 21st of that year brought together an eminent set

of men. Dr. Francis preached the sermon, Henry Ware, Jr., offered prayer, Caleb Stetson delivered the charge, George Ripley of Brook Farm fame gave the right hand of fellowship and John Pierpont and John S. Dwight each furnished a poem. No one then dreamed how eventful the next nine years were to prove to Mr. Parker.

Mr. Parker says himself "on the longest day of 1837 I was ordained minister of the Unitarian Church and congregation at West Roxbury, a little village near Boston, one of the smallest societies in New England, where I found men and women whose friendship is still dear and instructive. I soon became well acquainted with all in the little parish, where I found some men of rare enlightenment, some truly generous and noble souls. I knew the characters of all and the thoughts of such as had them. I took great pains with the composition of my sermons, they were never out of my mind. I had an intense delight in writing and preaching, but I was a learner quite as much as a preacher and was feeling my way forward and upward with one hand while I tried to lead men with the other. The simple life of the farmers, mechanics and milkmen about me, of its own accord, turned into

a sort of poetry and reappeared in the sermons, as the green woods, not far off, looked in at the windows of the meeting-house."

Aaron D. Weld was a friend and church member and the parish house a mile from the church was next to the home of a noted friend and parishioner, Mr. George R. Russell, while Mr. Francis Shaw lived next, so at once the minister was in the midst of culture and warm friends, these houses being always open to him.

Mr. Parker visited freely among his people, who were mostly farmers whom he loved (had he not worked often seventeen hours a day on his father's farm in Lexington?), and he went as gladly to visit in a kitchen as in a parlor.

The West Roxbury life was a happy one for Mr. Parker and he enjoyed his home with his dear wife and welcomed friends to it. Though he grieved for having no children of his own, he enjoyed his friends' little ones and was never too busy to play with them, and one of these no doubt was the little Robert Gould Shaw, dear to all our hearts.

All nature's manifestations were a soothing joy to Mr. Parker; he took long walks, knew each tree and every flower's haunt and gathered them most carefully. Mr. Ripley often

joined in these walks, discussing with him the important problems of life, while drinking in health and inspiration from the beautiful country about them.

I had the privilege of seeing the first old yellow record book, tender with age but written with black ink easy to read, also Mr. Parker's record book in which he wrote a new covenant more in sympathy with his thought. "We whose names are written underneath this constitute ourselves members of the Christian Church and unite for the purpose of promoting Goodness and Purity amongst ourselves and others." A long list of signatures follows.

An exact account of his preachings and exchanges are recorded, his exchanges amounting some years to over fifty, but gradually falling to fourteen, and then suddenly to none after his South Boston sermon. Against some names are written "Blank fell back, so and so fell back," that is, cancelled the exchange.

On these Sundays he poured out his heart to his people. He said, "I preach abundant heresies, none calling me to account therefor, but men's faces looking like fires new stirred thereat."

Side by side with the farmers, sat the Brook

Farmers, who lived two miles distant and walked to the "Street" (Centre St.) on those rare Sunday mornings to listen to this prophet of a new religion. There were George Ripley, his wife and sister, Charles A. Dana, George William Curtis, and his brother Burrill, John Orvis, Margaret Fuller when visiting at the farm, John S. Dwight with his sisters and many others. Louisa Alcott walked there from Roxbury Crossing and back to hear her friend Parker preach. A letter from my mother, Mary Ann Dwight, to a friend about one of the sermons shows how deeply one listener was affected by it. (Mr. Parker was on the eve of leaving for a year to regain his health in Europe.)

"No doubt it was lovely at the craggs (Hingham) last Sabbath, and had we been there we might have gone home the richer in spirit, yet I would not have exchanged my seat in Parker's pleasant little church even for the craggs and communion in sympathy with thee, with nature, and nature's God. I do not say I never would, but the last words for some long time, of a person whose preaching has interested me so deeply and whose character as manifested by it more deeply still, seem invaluable and I rejoice that I am privileged to

hear them. Oh that you were here today, that all lovers of truth were here to be encouraged and edified, still more that all lovers of lies were here to be rebuked and shamed, and to catch at least one glimpse into the life of a noble and true man. Today has been a trying time for Parker and his people. It has been their last meeting for a year and who knows what a year may bring forth? This afternoon the church was crowded, every pew, nook and corner, and faces looked in at the doors. We went down to the church very early and found it nearly filled and Aunt Corey's pew occupied; many had come from neighboring towns and some from a distance. Mr. Parker had two texts, the first, 'I have not refused to preach the whole counsel of God'; the second, 'Though absent in the body I will be present in the spirit.' The sermon was long, giving a full and faithful account of his ministry from the beginning. How clear, how earnest and how eloquent. Never was he bolder, he had made a clean breast of it and thrown the whole burden off his soul. He explained the aim of his ministry, the plan he had pursued and spoke of the consequences, spoke of the difficulties that had assailed him, told what advice had been given him by friends, what by some

of the clergy, how he had hesitated long before preaching some of his sermons, not through fear of having 'the clergy about his ears' but through fear of doing his people an injury by wounding their prejudices. But it would be absurd for me to attempt to tell you in a letter of a single sheet even an outline of his discourse but I think it will surely be printed, for it will be interesting to the public by answering a question many are asking 'How does he manage in his society?' 'How happens it that he is liked there?' He told the people that if they had fallen away from him, as he feared they might, after the outcry about the South Boston sermon, his plan would have been to get any work he could for eight months in the year, and preach the remaining four, the word that burnt in his soul, where he could find a place, in a hall, a schoolhouse, a barn. In regard to the charge brought against him of saying that ministers preach one thing in the pulpit and believe another in their closets, he said that he had never, in making this remark in a public discourse, alluded to any individual. He charged a young man not to do so, and in his sermon on the Pharisee, he rebuked anyone who did so whether in that pulpit, in his own person, or in any other pulpit, but he

would now say, openly and in public, that some ministers had told him that they did this and he said this advisedly, knowing what he said. If those ministers have any feeling must they not hide their heads? How fervently he thanked the people for their charity and friendliness; what deep and enduring gratitude in his words and countenance! No wonder many were melted to tears and sobs were heard even from men. But enough, or rather too much, because I cannot tell all. The people have addressed Mr. Parker a letter which was given him after meeting today, expressive of their friendship and esteem and gratitude, wishing him health, happiness and a safe return. It is one of the most heartfelt things ever done and must therefore be very gratifying to him. I believe everybody would sign it twice over if it would do any good. Will you have more of Mr. Parker? Why you say I can't help myself, I suppose I must. Know then that his sermon this forenoon was one of exceeding beauty, rich in thought and expression and it had a close application to each listener. The joys of Jesus formed his subject or the joys and comforts of religion as applied to all of us.

"(Signed) MARY ANN."

Mr. Higginson says "Mr. Parker has a heart as tender as a woman's, it was often torn with love and compassion while smiting with terrific force at the evils and falseness of Church and Society, he spoke only from a sense of duty, because he must." He loved his friends and their good opinion, but like his friend Charles Sumner and no less than he, he suffered ostracism and abuse for the sake of his conscience. The world knows Theodore Parker, the great preacher, reformer, denouncer of unrighteousness, only a chosen few knew the man, companion, comforter, friend and pastor. He was sought by many in great trouble; they never left him without being comforted and helped spiritually and materially. In the midst of the most strenuous work he was never sought in vain by any needy person of whatever race or social standing.

My uncle, John S. Dwight, and Mr. Parker were classmates in the Divinity School and intimate friends together with William Silsbee, Samuel Andrews, George Ellis, with Christopher Cranch and Charles T. Brooks of the senior class. Parker was very studious but he also had plenty of fun for once when disturbed in his studies by Dwight and Cranch playing on the flute and piano he planned re-

venge. They were interrupted by a fearful noise and on opening the door found Parker with a sawhorse and saw from the cellar, sawing wood, and he kept at it until he silenced them.

Mr. Parker once requested Mr. Dwight to tell him the faults he noticed in his character and I will read his reply which is certainly interesting (coming from a young man) and shows keen discrimination. Mr. Parker had done Mr. Dwight a similar service some time before:

"I may hint to you something about your character as I would to myself about my own, rather in the way of cautious suspicion than in passing any actual judgment. I should be unworthy of the confidence you have reposed in me if I did not speak to you openly. I always thought you had faults, but if I try to touch them they slip away. Therefore let me commence systematically; and first, whatever may be your habitual principles, motives, tendencies, passions, you do not fail at all in the resolution to act them out. Whatever you wish, you will, and what you will you effect. This I have admired in you, perhaps because I am so passive. But yet even this virtue you carry to a degree which is disagree-

able to me. I don't like to see a man have too much will: It mars the beauty of nature. You seem as the phrenologist said, 'goaded on.' Your life seems a succession of convulsive efforts, and the only wonder to me is that they don't exhaust you. You continually recover and launch forth again. This circumstance makes me somewhat distrust my own judgment about this trait. Still it is painful for me to see a being whom I respect and love anything but calm. I like not impetuosity, except that of unconscious impulse. You distrust those who are unlike yourself. You fancy them restraints upon you and then your faith in your own energies and ideas speaks out in a tone of almost bitter contempt for the world and those who do not think and feel as you do. You feel that such sentiments as you cherish ought to triumph, but you find the world courting men who pursue inferior aims. Coupled with your high ideal is an impatient wish to see it immediately realized, two things which don't go well together; for the one prompts you to love, the other soured by necessary disappointments, prompts to hate, at least contempt.

I think your love of learning is a passion, that it injures your mind by converting insensibly what is originally a pure thirst for

truth into a greedy, avaricious, jealous striving not merely to know, but to get all there is known. Don't you often turn aside from your own reflection from the fear of losing what another has said or written on the subject? Have you not too much of a mania for all printed things, as if books were the symbols of that truth to which the student aspires? You work, you read, you think in a hurry, for fear of not getting all. Tell me if I conjecture wrongly, and pardon this weak but sincere attempt to answer your questions. Your friend and brother."

The life in West Roxbury was a good thing for Mr. Parker and in view of all the storm that was to follow the stand his church took, the truth and faith they showed him softened his suffering.

Parker had been preaching a year in West Roxbury when Emerson gave his Divinity School address; in his journal for that day, July 5th, 1838, he wrote: "After preaching, Sunday-schooling and teachers' meeting, wife and I went to hear the valedictory sermon by Mr. Emerson in Cambridge. In this he surpassed himself as much as he surpasses others in a general way. I shall give no extract, so beautiful, so just, so true and terribly sublime

was his picture of the faults of the Church in its present position. My soul is roused and this week I shall write the long meditated sermon on the state of the Church and the duties of these times."

After Parker preached the South Boston sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity" the great contention of which was that Christianity as an absolute religion shines by its own light, is its own evidence and needs no miraculous support, the storm of abuse and criticism broke out, with a few notable exceptions Boston pulpits were closed to him and friends fell away from him, but now the West Roxbury people gathered close about him and helped cheer him through all the strain and sorrow. James Freeman Clarke lost fifteen families from his Society by exchanging with Mr. Parker.

An extract from a letter of Miss Parsons to Marianne Dwight at Brook Farm gives an idea of how deeply Mr. Clarke's Society felt. Parker preached grandly to crammed audiences. Mr. B. thought Mr. Clarke's course so noble and beautiful he wished to know him, and had he called today as he said he should I was going there with him. Could you have watched Mr. Clarke through all this stormy

time you would have acknowledged, I think, the beauty, the loveliness, of his spirit and would have seen that what you have thought wavering and expediency was a delicacy in his Christian love and consideration for the feelings of others. The aggrieved members have felt most deeply wounded. I respect many, more than before for their deep conscientiousness, though I do not love their narrowness and believe in many respects they have acted blindly. Mrs. Loring says "Mr. Clarke has been celestial." The meetings have been numerous and quite exciting, the tears have flowed freely and many look pale and ill, but Mr. Clarke has ever been tranquil and refreshing. John Andrew has been noble and his speech was an intellectual feast at the last meeting; they asked Mr. Clarke "Will nothing induce you to retract?" He answered "If the church will pass a vote that I have exceeded my bounds I will tell Mr. Parker he cannot come, otherwise should he come to me, I would not release him though my church should dissolve in consequence. Our union is dear to my heart. I have thought much of it. The Catholics have tried it by suppressing heresies and are a withered branch, the Protestants, by exclusiveness and are going to seed. I see no

way left but this of universal love and not confounding theology with religion, and it is as well to try it *here* and *now,* as to delay."

Again mother wrote that "Mrs. Davis Weld came to see me last Monday and from her I learned what a furore pervades the Saints who are afraid to hear Parker. Heaven help them, for it is as dark as Egypt all around them. Such commotions always do good."

After Mr. Parker returned from Europe in January, 1845, a resolution was passed by a company of men in Boston, "That the Rev. Theodore Parker have a chance to be heard in Boston." This offered a broader field and Parker resigned in West Roxbury though living and preaching there Sunday afternoons for a year.

Resolutions drawn up by George R. Russell were sent to Mr. Parker by the parish and I quote one sentence: "Resolved that our connection has been one of the deepest interest. Circumstances have called for our warmest support and sympathy. We have gathered around him when the world forsook him. When his brethren were cold and no word of kindly encouragement met him on the right or on the left, this little Society, few in numbers, inconsiderable in influence, did not shrink from

bearing its testimony in his days of trial. It has stood by him through good and evil report with a resolution and unanimity that has been sustained by the conviction that God would uphold the right, that what of truth was uttered would live and what of error would pass away. The bond that has held us together can never be forgotten by him or by us; and we shall watch his future career with earnest solicitude and unabated affection." Of this set of resolutions this parish may feel more proud than of anything in its history.

In 1898 a fourth church on the corner of Centre and Corey Streets was built and the first building is used for a parish house and Sunday school. I went there lately and Mr. Arnold kindly showed me the Parker room where relics and interesting books and pictures are kept. The sides of this room are wainscotted with the pew doors taken from the old church. Mr. Parker's old pulpit stands in the new church and is used; it is slightly altered in shape and is colored instead of white. The Society hold a service at Pulpit Rock, Brook Farm once a year, where William Henry Channing often preached to the community in fine weather.

Mr. Parker preached his first sermon to his

Boston Society at the melodeon on February 16, 1845, and a great success followed, as from Sunday to Sunday he drew a large distinguished audience. After seven years the dark hall was abandoned for the new Music Hall and the 28th Congregational Society of Boston was organized as a body for religious worship. Parker created this Society and it moulded his life. There was no ordination, for ministers would not take part, so Parker preached and prayed and the people gave their right hands.

A few words must be said about these remarkable Music Hall gatherings, often 3,000 in number at one meeting, at which Mr. Parker spoke surrounded on the platform by personal friends, as by a body guard. For the first time in history flowers adorned the pulpit put there by friends. Mr. Chadwick says, "Every Sunday, a quarter part of his great congregation consisted of persons who had never heard him before and who might never hear him again. Not one of these visitors must go away without hearing the preacher define his position on every point, not theology alone but all current events and permanent principles, the presidential nomination or message, the laws of trade, laws of congress,

women's rights and costume, Boston kidnappers and Dr. Barnaby, he must put it all in. His ample discourse must be like an Oriental poem which begins with the creation of the Universe and includes all subsequent facts incidentally." He adds, "It is astonishing to see how many times the same stirring speech has been given but with new illustrations and statistics and all so remoulded and so fresh that neither listeners nor preacher was aware of the repetition." Parker was in great demand all over the country, and did an enormous amount of speaking. When Thackery came to America he said what he wanted most of all was to hear Theodore Parker talk.

While Mr. Parker was firing his guns in the Music Hall the Park Street Society, just opposite, was greatly exercised to prevent his preaching and called a meeting on March 6th, 1858. Some of the prayers offered were as follows:

"Lord, we know that we cannot argue him down, and the more we say against him the more the people flock after him and the more they will love and revere him. O Lord what shall be done for Boston if thou dost not take this and some other matters in hand."

"Oh Lord, send confusion and distraction

into his study this afternoon and prevent his finishing his preparations for his labors to-morrow."

"Oh Lord, if this man will still persist in speaking in public, induce the people to leave him and come and fill this house instead of that."

I do not need to enlarge here on Theodore Parker's character or to dwell upon his other fields of labor, neither time nor my subject permits; so I will merely say in conclusion that Mr. Parker's love for the Twenty-eighth Society was his crowning happiness, and when his health gave out and he was forced to leave these friends, never to return, letters kept him informed of all their doings. He sent frequent letters to be read to them, writing the Society that he always set apart the hour when they were worshipping to be with them in spirit and in prayer.

For the history of the Parish I am mainly indebted to Rev. Mr. Applebee's article published in the West Roxbury magazine in 1900, and I have helped myself liberally from the lives of Parker, by Higginson and Chadwick. H. D. O.

FIRST PARISH OF DORCHESTER

[Meeting House Hill]

The history of the first parish of Dorchester comprises far more than the records of a church. It deals with the great spiritual forces which helped to make the backbone of our country, and which created that solidity of character and loftiness of ideals which still dominate our national life in spite of the many counteracting influences.

That was a wonderful movement which in 1630 sent seventeen frail vessels, with their loads of earnest determined pioneers, on their long voyages across the ocean, away from the country which they dearly loved, from the church to which they were still loyally attached, from comfort and prosperity, and from strong ties of kindred and friendship.

Although we are very familiar with this chapter of our history, it is impossible to consider it thoughtfully without experiencing a thrill, and a feeling of pride in our remarkable origin. The motive which actuated these early settlers was political as well as religious, but the underlying impulse was love of freedom.

The moving spirit of the Puritan coloniza-

tion was Rev. John White. He was bishop of Dorchester, England, from whence came the name of the first new settlement. He was a man of great power and influence and it was said of him that he possessed absolute control of two things, his own passions and the purses of his parishioners. He was distinguished for strength of character and persuasive force, and rallied about him a large number who were eager to carry out his cherished plans of colonization. He has been called the father of New England, for he not only instigated the movement which led to its settlement, but he exercised a patriarchal influence over the colonies, and it was through his efforts that they received recognition in England. However, he never came to this country and for that reason he does not receive the prominence he deserves in our histories.

Next to the Plymouth society, the one in Dorchester was the oldest in Massachusetts, having been established in 1630, shortly before the settlement of Boston. Unlike other ancient churches of this section it was organized in England. This was accomplished under the guidance of John White, preliminary to the departure for America. Two ministers, Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, who had been

ordained in the Established Church, were placed in charge, and the religious life of the church and the colony began in Plymouth, England, with a day of fasting and prayer, previous to setting sail.

The great purpose of this body was "to found a civil and ecclesiastical government, modeled, constructed and administered on the Bible as the common source of all divine knowledge," and the Bible was to be their only guide.

This band of colonists sailed on the Mary and John. Roger Clapp, the chief historian of the period, wrote thus: "We came by the good hand of the Lord through the deeps comfortably, having preaching and expounding of the word of God every day for ten weeks together by our ministers." For the voyage lasted just seventy days.

Unlike the Pilgrims, they landed in the most beautiful season of the year, the early part of June. Their plan was to settle on the Charles River which had become known to them through the journal of Capt. John Smith. But the captain of their vessel put them ashore near Hull with all their belongings, and they were obliged to remove later, as best they could, to their intended destination. They chose a place

called Mattapan by the Indians. It is now known as Dorchester Neck, and is, as you know, a long distance from the present Mattapan. It was selected as it furnished a good enclosure for the famished cattle they had brought with them. Later on the heirs of Chickatawbut received payment for the land.

A week after their arrival the town was established and remained the most prominent of the early settlements, until overshadowed in time by Boston. Though the first settlers found a smiling country upon their arrival, there were terrible hardships before them during the long rigorous winters, due largely to the failure of their crops and the difficulty of getting supplies from England. Roger Clapp wrote, "When I could have meal and salt and water boiled together it was so good, who could wish for better?"

The first meeting house erected in 1631 was a mean low structure built of logs and thatch, quite in contrast to the fine cathedrals to which the Puritans were accustomed. The men worked with their swords at their sides, while constructing the church, and it was surrounded with a palisade. Though the neighboring Indians were friendly the early settlers be-

lieved in preparedness. The church served as a place of worship and of defence as well.

There was soon a constant arrival of new settlers and it was decided that the first comers should swarm from the original hive and start a new colony. Consequently in 1636 a large part of the Dorchester parish migrated to Windsor, Connecticut, and this was the beginning of the history of that state. At the same time the Dorchester church was reorganized and filled its ranks from the steady flow of new arrivals. The church records date from this time and are the oldest in existence.

There was never any definite separation from the Established Church of England but its authority was unconsciously ignored in the new and freer surroundings. The Church had no written creed. It was however Calvinistic in faith. The service was simple, but the spirit was intensely religious. Great importance was given to prayer and many days were set apart for special supplication. The subject of their petition might be the removal of caterpillars and other pests, or it might be the removal of sin, or any other need that happened to present itself.

The Dorchester people set themselves from the first against slavery, which had already

been introduced into Virginia when they arrived. In the earlier records is the case of a slave whom they admitted to the church and afterwards freed, by paying the necessary sum for her ransom. But in dealing with Quakers and other heretics, they showed little mercy.

One of the most striking facts concerning the church of Dorchester is that for one hundred and seventy-six years, bringing it up as late as 1806, there was no other church in the town, and Dorchester, in those days, not only included South Boston but at first extended nearly to Rhode Island. This makes us realize the tremendous change brought about in one century. It was nearly two hundred years before Dorchester settlers completely separated the functions of church and state. At first the union was very close. No man was allowed to vote unless he was a member of the church and the church was supported by a town tax. The ministers were called by the joint vote of the church and town, and no new church could be formed without the presence of the chief magistrates. As late as 1801 the town was obliged to accept a book of psalms before it could be adopted.

The little log church on the corner of Cottage and Pleasant Streets served for fifteen

years as a house of worship. Another building was erected on the same site but moved in 1670 to Meeting House Hill where the present edifice stands. We are so familiar with the name "Meeting House Hill" that every vestige of meaning has gone out of it for us. But Dr. Hall tells how an English historian, whom he showed about at one time, seemed greatly impressed with the quaintness of the name. In 1677 a new building like the Old Ship of Hingham was erected at an expense of one thousand dollars which seems quite small when compared with the cost of the present edifice, built at a cost of between fifty and sixty thousand. It was not until 1816, in the days of Christopher Wren, that the colonial meeting house with its graceful spire was erected. No more fit or pleasing design could be found for the new structure which was to replace it, when it was burned in 1896, and we now have practically a reproduction of the charming old church which had been a landmark for nearly one hundred years. Within the present edifice is the wonderful mahogany pulpit from Dr. Bartol's church which was bought and presented by Andrew Wheelwright.

The First Church of Dorchester has had a very short list of ministers, considering its long

history, for several of them were associated with the church for forty years or more. It reflects credit on the society and its pastors also that changes have been so infrequent, and it is noticeable that the ministers in many cases rejected several prominent pulpits in order to accept this one. Edward Everett in his flowing lines thus characterizes the men who had filled the pulpits up to his time: "It would not be easy to find a town which has been more highly favored in a succession of ministers modelled upon the true type of a New England pastor in which a well digested store of human and divine learning directed by a sound practical judgment was united with an all controlling sense of the worth of spiritual things." And this was not mere oratory, but was strikingly true. One able consecrated man after another served as pastor, and though the records are sometimes meager, there is always enough to indicate that there was not one who did not perform his duties in an exceptional manner.

We are told that both Maverick and Warham, the pastors chosen in England, were able and godly men.

Mr. Warham was very pious and subject to religious depression, being in constant fear

that he might not be of the elect. He went to Windsor in 1636 and served there for many years. About all we hear of Maverick is that he nearly blew up the meeting house while drying out the gun powder that was stored there. He died soon after the reorganization and the church was so fortunate as to secure, in his place, Richard Mather who was also sought after by the Plymouth and Roxbury churches. He was father of Increase Mather and grandfather of Cotton Mather and a man of versatile attainments. He was in a true sense a religious martyr for he was practically driven from England on account of his stubborn adherence to non-conformity. He fled in disguise barely escaping capture, and after sailing through a terrific hurricane, arrived in the country where he was so much needed. He was very active in both the church and town, and was a guiding spirit for thirty-three years, leaving a lasting impression on the institutions of the country. The ministry of Josiah Flint, which followed, was shortened by ill-health, and then came Rev. John Danforth, famous for learning and piety, who gave great satisfaction for forty-eight years. The only suggestion of any friction in the history of the early pastors occurred in the case of his suc-

cessor, Jonathan Bowman. At the end of a faithful ministry of forty-three years an element of discord was introduced by the straying of one of the minister's hens. It proved to be a very serious matter and ended in Mr. Bowman requesting his release from the church. During the controversy he was criticised on account of the brevity of his sermons which were said to have lasted only fifteen or eighteen minutes.

Moses Everett, who succeeded him, was an uncle of Edward Everett and great uncle of Edward Everett Hale and served with great acceptance for eighteen years. Delicate health caused his retirement, for it was said of him that he was too feeble to fulfill his duties, and too conscientious to neglect them.

In 1793 one of the greatest men who has ever filled the Dorchester pulpit accepted the office. His name was Thaddeus M. Harris. A few things in his early history may be of interest. At the age of seven the little Thaddeus was a war refugee. At the approach of the battle of Bunker Hill, his family fled from their home in Charlestown and drifted inland. A little later his father died and he was placed in a farmer's family. Each day he was sent to school with a luncheon which was to serve

for his noon-day meal. It was discovered that instead of eating it himself he carried it to his mother, who was in great need. This was typical of the tender-hearted man as we find him in later years. He made his own way in the world and secured an education at Harvard College. He graduated at the age of nineteen and was to serve as Washington's private secretary when he was taken with smallpox. He afterwards arranged all of Washington's papers in one hundred and thirty-one volumes, which was no easy task. He was librarian for a time at Harvard College but at the age of twenty-five became pastor of the Meeting House Hill Church. His parish included South Boston and his work was very taxing, but in addition he was Overseer of Harvard College, and Superintendent of Schools. He was very systematic and orderly, an early riser, and always on time. When he was sixty-six years of age he selected Mr. Nathaniel Hall to become his colleague. There are many fine tributes paid to the gentle altruistic nature of Dr. Harris. It was said that his feelings were always compassionate and kind. He did not harbor ill will to a single soul and wished to make every one happy. His preaching was simple and practical and he laid no stress on

creeds and denominations. Dr. Harris's ministry stands out in one respect. It was during that period that the church body unconsciously drifted into Unitarianism without dissension or controversy. Under the leadership of their broad-minded pastor this great and fundamental change was accomplished, and there was no mention of it in the records.

Dr. Harris was very fortunate in his choice of a colleague and we find another remarkable man ready to take his place. Nathaniel Hall brings the history of the church down to comparatively modern times, for many are still living who grew up under his influence. Born with an intensely spiritual nature and an instinct for preaching, he very strangely drifted into business life. He worked in a ship-chandlery store and later on in an insurance office. But the opportunity came to him to leave a life which was distasteful to him and to fit himself for the work to which he was naturally drawn. Rev. Andrew Peabody, though his junior, prepared him for the Divinity School and he said of Nathaniel Hall that there could be no doubt of his inward call for his sacred profession. He did not have an academic training but a consuming passion for truth. He was ordained in 1835 and the Dor-

chester Church had the entire benefit of his long and remarkable ministry. His was a choice nature and the influence of his elevated ideals was far reaching. It was said of Dr. Hall that in him the Lion and the Lamb were happily blended, for though timid and modest under ordinary conditions, he was inflexible when it came to a matter of principle.

During his ministry the slavery agitation was rampant. There was no hesitation on the part of Dr. Hall in taking his stand for what he considered to be right, and he spoke out fearlessly for emancipation. He said to his people: "I go at your bidding whenever expressed, but while I remain I would speak plainly and boldly what I deem to be the truth." Some of his parishioners were alienated by his positive views, but he lived to see their loyalty restored. Dr. Putnam considered him the incarnation of the Sermon on the Mount. His last utterance was, "I believe the good Father has for me in the spheres beyond a life work and a higher and holier power of service." And still another wonderfully able man took his place. Samuel J. Barrows now undertook the pastorate with his gifted wife and they were an unusual pair of workers. Mr. Barrows was only with the church for four

years and his part in its history is therefore a small one. But I cannot refrain from telling a few interesting facts concerning his early life.

Samuel J. Barrows started his extraordinary career in a newspaper establishment at the age of nine. And here, in the course of time he developed into a reporter. He had very little other education until he became a man. He was brought up in the Baptist Church and passed through an intense religious experience. As a boy he went about the wharves preaching to the mariners from the head of a barrel and they liked his sunny nature which was in contrast to his stern religious views. His weekly allowance of one cent always went into the contribution box and all of his diversions were religious in character.

When a young man he suffered from ill-health and went to a rest cure, where he met his life companion, who was then a very young widow. They both went at life with untiring zeal and enthusiasm and small details gave way to big vital interests. It was while working for Secretary Seward, in Washington, that Mr. Barrows went through the experience quite common among our Unitarian ministers. While browsing in the National Library, he

came under the spell of William Ellery Channing and the old faith fell away from him. He now desired to preach Unitarianism and prepared himself at the Harvard Divinity School.

When the time came for him to settle, at least five churches gave him a call, but his choice fell upon the Dorchester Church and in Dorchester he made his home for many years. Here he had a parish of three hundred families and during the first year he made over one thousand calls, for he did not like to preach to people unless he knew them. He considered it a rare parish and the four years were very happy ones. The church seemed to the Barrows, when they entered it, the desired culmination of their life work and the end and aim of all their period of preparation. But they were called to a larger sphere, and it was with regret that they gave up what had proved to be a thoroughly congenial field of labor. Mr. Barrows' exceptional qualifications for newspaper work and the promise of his wife's able assistance induced him to accept the position as editor of the Christian Register. But there were still fine men to follow. The names and work of Christopher Eliot and Eugene Shippen are familiar to you all. The

present minister, Mr. Roger Forbes, is the son of Rev. John P. Forbes, of Brooklyn. His first parish was at Dedham and it was a hard blow to his people there when he left and went to Dorchester. But here he has found a broader field of usefulness and the loyalty of his parishioners indicates that he is no unworthy successor of those who have gone before.

In presenting this subject to the Alliance it seems very suitable that Mrs. Fifield, who was prominently connected with the church for many years, should be mentioned. A woman of great energy and initiative she was most efficient in carrying out whatever church work there was to be done. She was secretary of the National Alliance almost from its inception and she worked for it with great enthusiasm. At one time she was sent out west to bring about a greater spirit of co-operation between the Alliances of the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. She and her work are undoubtedly well known to most of you and probably many have read her interesting history of the Women's Alliance, which has recently been published.

The Meeting House Hill Church has been the parent of many other movements. Besides

the Windsor colony there was another which eventually settled the town of Medway in South Carolina. Nearly all the first members of the Second Church of Boston emanated from Dorchester, and there was hardly a church established in eastern Massachusetts which was not made up in part from this parish.

In 1806 the church became so large that it divided and the new society which was called the Second Church of Dorchester removed to Codman Square. There it extended and spread its influence abroad so that it is impossible to estimate the full value of its great work.

In this new country, where history is made and remade in a day and where changes are constant and sweeping, it is indeed impressive to find a center of religious life which has been a steady active force in the community during a period of nearly three centuries.

BULFINCH PLACE CHURCH

THE history of Bulfinch Place Church and the Howard Sunday School really begins with the founding of the Ministry-at-Large in the city of Boston by the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman in 1826. A brief account of this work is as follows:

In 1826 Boston was a city of about 65,000 inhabitants. In the city there were very many poor and neglected families, having no church connections, no pastoral care. Children were running wild in the streets, not going regularly to school, becoming idle and vicious; many of the parents were intemperate and worked irregularly, begging for help. A few "missionaries" were at work, but there were few churches where the poor could be made to feel at home. There was much almsgiving, but little that could be called wise. It was patronizing, perhaps generous, but it was pauperizing. It did not deal with the cause, but with immediate and superficial "relief." It did not come into close sympathy and friendliness with those whom it would serve. It was very evident that the churches were oblivious to their duties, and in consequence several thousand

people were without training or instruction in the Christian virtues and religion.

Among the first to appreciate this sad situation and to take active steps to change it was a band of young Unitarian laymen, who in 1822 (four years before Dr. Tuckerman came to Boston) became deeply impressed with the condition of things, and formed themselves into an "Association for Religious Improvement." In 1823 they succeeded in establishing the "Hancock Sunday School," the second school to be founded in Boston by Unitarians. It had good success, and later was transferred to the Second Church. But more important than the establishment of the hoped-for Sunday school was the growth of this association of young Unitarian men! For thirteen years it met regularly once a week for serious thought and discussion. Back of this little association stood Henry Ware, Jr., the saintly young minister of the Second Church and pastor of several of the members of the association. He took a strong interest in the work and volunteered "to preach on Sunday evenings to the poor and unchurched if a suitable place could be obtained."

Services were held in Spring Street, Charter Street, Hatter's Square and Pitts Court, and

sometimes in two or three of these places on the same evening. The association of young laymen gave its unwearying assistance in all this, and began to talk of engaging a permanent minister, as it was often difficult to secure volunteers. Mr. Ware's health was failing, and the other ministers were busy.

On the records of the association for their meeting of October 11, 1826, the name of Joseph Tuckerman appears for the first time as being proposed for membership. On October 22, he was admitted by a unanimous vote, and on December 3, 1826, we find the following minute by the secretary:

"The Lectures under the conduct of the Association commenced this evening at 6½ o'clock at Smith's Circular Building, cor. Merrimack and Portland Streets. It was fully attended by those for whom it was intended. The services were of the first order. Rev. Dr. Tuckerman officiated."

On Sunday, December 10, seven teachers of the Hancock Sunday School met three scholars in the same room and there organized what soon was called the Howard Sunday School.

The ministry-at-large was an established fact from December 3, 1826. For two years the work went on in that old circular building;

then for eight years it was continued in Friend Street Chapel, built by the Association, and for thirty-four years in Pitts Street, and it has continued in the present church, in Bulfinch Place, since 1870.

A few words now about Joseph Tuckerman, the founder of this Ministry-at-Large. Rev. S. H. Winkley, his successor, said of him: "To understand the Tuckerman ministry, we must understand Tuckerman himself. He was not a theologian as such. He was not a ritualist as such. He cared but very little about 'mere morality' as such. But he *loved.* He did not stop to see whether his love was returned; he only asked, 'How can I bless you?' He loved the ministry-at-large. During the twenty-five years of his ministry in Chelsea (1801-1826), that spirit inspired him. Every one in the place was his friend, and he was the friend of every one, the Unitarian and the Trinitarian, the good man and the bad man, the rich and the poor; they were all his Father's children, and all his brothers and sisters. It was in that spirit that he started the ministry-at-large in Boston, which is the ministry without limits, without regard to sectarianism, without regard to wealth or poverty."

Dr. Tuckerman's ministry in Boston was

only for fourteen years, and the last six years of that time he was in wretched health, and yet in that short time what vast and far-reaching work he did!

It is indeed quality and not quantity that counts in a man's work. It is well to note the "modernness" of his ideas. He anticipated most remarkably all the principles of modern scientific charity. He discussed many of the problems which are now confronting us, and offered wise and prophetic solutions. Dr. Tuckerman just before his death said "that the problem of the *future* would be the problem of the *city,* and the hope of the future would be met in the redeeming of the cities." Let us not forget, however, that the work nearest to Dr. Tuckerman's heart was the work of the *minister,* "the relation of his philanthropic service to religion." No one ever saw more clearly than he "that the life that has the faith is the life that does the work." "Show me your faith without your works and I will show you my faith by my works." It was to this kind of faith that the life of Joseph Tuckerman was dedicated.

On the memorial tablet in Bulfinch Place Church are inscribed the following lines:

A Wise Student of Social Problems
A Farseeing Prophet of Beneficent Reforms
A Pioneer in Scientific Philanthropy
An Efficient, Public-Spirited Citizen
His Best Monument is the Ministry-at-Large
His Most Appropriate Title, the Friend of the Poor

Dr. Tuckerman was followed in the work of the Ministry-at-Large by Charles Barnard, Frederick T. Gray, Cyrus A. Bartol, Robert Waterston, and Andrew Bigelow, until the year 1846, when Rev. Samuel H. Winkley, just graduated from the Harvard Divinity School, accepted the call to the Ministry-at-Large, and was given charge of Pitts Street Chapel. He entered the work with joy, and gave the rest of his life to it, sixty-five years of devoted, consecrated work among the people of the West End and Greater Boston. For fifty years he was the active minister, for fifteen the Pastor Emeritus. His successor in the work, Rev. Christopher R. Eliot, says of him: "He was a minister of the Gospel by calling and choice, but first of all and always a man; a preacher and teacher, but first of all a friend; a servant of God, obedient and dutiful, but first of all a son, loyal, loving and true.

He served God by serving His kingdom, and the kingdom by serving men. It was his delight to minister by word and deed. He was preëminently a pastor, looking after the spiritual and material interests of his flock. He was interested in community problems, but his best work was in influencing individuals. His Sunday-school pupils were his children; his congregation was his family; his parishioners far and wide his dearest friends. Successful in the pulpit, where his sermons were often like heart-to-heart talks, he always felt his best work was in the homes of his people, or in his little 'bandbox' of a study, where by appointment he would meet them individually and talk to them face to face. It might be for a single visit, or it might be once a week, for months. The sinful, sick and sorrowing came to that little room and were helped and healed and inspired for a renewed life."

Mr. Winkley was born in Portsmouth, N. H., of a rather strict orthodox family. When only seven he showed a deep interest in religious matters, at that early age attending "Prayer Meetings" and distributing tracts in drinking saloons.

He tried to be "converted" in the orthodox way, attending church regularly and revival

meetings whenever they were held. But it was of no use; so he finally gave it up, resolving to acknowledge his weakness and to consecrate himself to the service of God and his children and to offer himself to the church. From this early age, twelve, the boy's interest in religious services broadened and deepened. He went into business in both Boston and Providence for nine years, and at the same time was reading and thinking and working in church and Sunday school. His study of the New Testament had made him a Unitarian, and this decision practically excluded him from orthodox circles. He then entered the Harvard Divinity School, and graduated in the same class with O. B. Frothingham, Samuel Johnson and Samuel Longfellow.

The story of Mr. Winkley's work at Pitts Street and Bulfinch Place is too long to tell here in full. He was unlike most ministers of that time, and was often called unconventional, but he was very human and very approachable. Children and grown people quickly learned to love and trust him. As a minister, he knew no dividing lines between rich and poor, learned or ignorant, good and bad. All were children of God, and wherever he was

needed he would go. He was a true and worthy successor of Dr. Tuckerman.

A few years before his death he said to a friend: "There is nothing so satisfying as service; love is love however you spell it. Living for others is heaven. I don't care about having my name in a book, but show me how I can be of greater service to men and I'm ready for you." No wonder people loved him and followed him! No wonder his church and Sunday school flourished; no wonder he became in those good old days "Bishop" of a parish covering not only the West End, but reaching out into twenty-eight surrounding towns!

He was made Superintendent of the Howard Sunday School in 1856, and this work was particularly dear to him. For years it had two sessions every Sunday, and at one time numbered over 350 pupils. Mr. Winkley had a wonderful gift for inspiring his teachers and training them to consecrated service. He was a born teacher himself, and his method was that of asking questions, in this way stimulating the teacher's own thought. He was known among his brother ministers as the "Interrogator." He always had some young teachers in the Sunday school, and kept them up to the lessons they were to teach by his Teachers' Meetings,

two of which he held every week. Mr. Winkley prepared a series of lesson books on the Bible and "practical piety," and several of them were published in many editions by the Sunday School Society. Many will remember with gratitude the help received from those little books, the more popular of which were "The Son of Man," "A Man's True Life," and "The Higher Life."

We cannot speak fully of Mr. Winkley's work without also speaking of his much loved assistant and life-long friend, Miss Frances S. Merrill, "Aunt Fanny," as she was called for years by the young people of the Chapel. Unitarians in this part of the country know her as the one who suggested the idea of the "Children's Mission to Children," and inspired her father and others to have this friendly plan carried out. Mr. Merrill was for many years a teacher in the Howard Sunday School in Pitts Street, and every Sunday morning he walked there from his home in the South End for the nine o'clock session of the school, his little daughter Fanny tightly clasping his hand. They saw many poor and neglected children on their way, and the little girl's heart was wrung with pain, and she began to plan what she as a little girl of ten years could do for their relief.

One morning as they walked along she said to her father, "Can't we children, who have homes and fathers and mothers, do something for the children who have not these things, and no one to teach them? Can't we children give our pennies and hire some one to teach them?" Her father and others caught the idea, and the Children's Mission was founded. The love in the heart of this little girl grew and broadened and strengthened under her beautiful home influences and under the guiding and teaching of her much loved friend, Mr. Winkley, until when she was but eighteen years of age she became one of the missionaries of the Benevolent Fraternity and Mr. Winkley's especial assistant. To the day of her death, December 1, 1897, she devoted herself to this work, in Pitts Street Chapel until 1870, and after that in Bulfinch Place Chapel. For all these long years the two friends worked together, consulting, planning, helping, and together calling on all the members of the church and the Sunday school. As "Chapel Mother," she was widely known, and many were the motherless girls she took to her heart and helped into the right way of living.

The Ministry-at-Large in Boston today is represented by the various activities, religious

and philanthropic, of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, whose centers of work are the Theodore Parker Memorial, the North End Union, Channing Church, and Bulfinch Place Church. This last stands in a peculiar sense in the direct line of descent from the work of Dr. Joseph Tuckerman. If any of you have read Mr. Robert Wood's book, "Americans in Process," you will understand what I mean when I say that the character of the old West End of Boston has in the last twenty-five years undergone a great change. The rich old-time dwellers on the northern slope of Beacon Hill have betaken themselves to the Back Bay or to Brookline, and those of smaller incomes have pushed out largely into the northern suburbs of the city, Chelsea, Everett, Medford, Somerville, and Malden. The stately houses of those early days have become boarding or lodging houses and the more modest homes are rapidly being made into tenements. This change means that the work of Bulfinch Place Church, like that of all other West End churches, is changing, too. A goodly number of our workers and those who attend church and Sunday school come in from the suburbs. At the same time we gather in for Sunday services, lectures, and clubs a great many who live close to us.

Rev. Edward A. Horton has said: "The Ministry-at-Large is on a four-square principle. It relates itself to education, philanthropy, citizenship, and religion." Bulfinch Place Church, through its various workers, is endeavoring at the present time to carry out this ideal.

REV. AND MRS. ELIOT'S SERVICES

THE ministry of Rev. Christopher R. Eliot began September 1, 1894, when he came as assistant to Mr. Winkley. This arrangement continued for two years; then Mr. Winkley, having completed fifty years of service, resigned and became pastor-emeritus. Mr. Eliot's ministry has been marked by the same spirit of Christian service as was his predecessor's. Through him there has been a reaching out, through the formation of new religious organizations, which has related our church more vitally to other churches and causes.

Through Mrs. Eliot the Women's Alliance was organized to connect our women with the work of the Unitarian denomination locally and nationally, and this has made possible the part done by our church in the hospitality of Anniversary Week.

At the suggestion of Mr. Eliot, Lend-a-Hand Clubs were formed with the idea of training the children and young people in unselfish helpfulness.

Two events stand out in the ministry of Mr. Eliot as peculiarly significant: first, the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Ministry-at-Large, December 8, 1901, and of the Howard Sunday School on March 12, 1902; and second, the remodelling of the church building in the summer of 1904. These events were of great interest and showed a loyalty to the spirit and fundamental principles of the past, united to a readiness to use modern methods to meet the new needs of the present day.

On October 29, 1914, the parish of Bulfinch Place Church gave a reception to Mr. and Mrs. Eliot in recognition of their twenty years of association with the church. It was a happy occasion, bringing together, in addition to the regular congregation, many old friends of the church and also many personal friends of Mr. and Mrs. Eliot. Rev. James De Normandie, the senior minister among Boston Unitarians and a warm personal friend of Mr. and Mrs. Eliot, expressed the greetings and congratula-

tions which filled the hearts of many friends present and absent.

Mr. Eliot's years of service are clearly expressed in the motto of the parish paper, "Our Work": "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister." Through his leadership our church has become a center of good works, and a spirit of peace and goodwill abides in the hearts of his people.

FIRST PARISH AND FIRST CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE

The spirit of Puritanism is as old as the truth and manliness of England. Protestantism in the Massachusetts Colony represents the period when the Puritan party in the Church of England, having loyally held its place through three hostile reigns, was driven at last from its allegiance. Those who stayed in the Church of England, unwilling to become Separatists, called Puritans in derision, finally were forced to go to the western world. They were of that brotherhood of men, who by force of social consideration, as well as of intelligence and resolute patriotism, moulded the public opinion and action of England, in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Puritan claimed that obedience toward God set bounds to the authority of men. It was the independence of the planet which claims a large orbit, yet never dreams of breaking from the central sun. During the entire reign of Elizabeth, the reform party constituted quite half the clergy within the church. In 1562, the proposal to set aside surplices, to give up kneeling in prayer, the use of organs, and the sign of the cross at baptism was lost by a vote of fifty-eight to

fifty-nine, the deacons and arch-deacons being among the minority. In James I's reign nearly one thousand English clergy petitioned extensive changes in the service, which were prevented by the King's intolerance. John Cotton preached twenty years as an avowed Puritan in Boston, England, discontinuing the liturgy and vestments, and denying the authority of the bishops. Yet he declared that he was no Brownist, and called the Independent too straight. Governor Winthrop said: "We esteem it an honor to call the Church of England our dear mother," and spoke in strong disapproval of those who in England went under the name of Independents. The men of Plymouth, however, separated from the Church of England in 1561, were in Scrooby until 1606, and twelve years in Holland. For nine years they were the only Protestant church in the western world, unless there were forsaken remains of ecclesiastical origin in Virginia. Thomas Shepard was a lecturer in the Church of England until he took up his pastorate here, and at this time made his first open renunciation of Episcopacy.

This hasty review of the growth of the spirit of religious freedom brings us to the time when

the Company of Massachusetts Bay, coming from England with its Governor and its charter, brought with it in the course of the first year more than one thousand persons, and before ten years had passed more than twenty thousand had come to stay. At first it was not intended to make Boston the seat of government, because a position further inland would be more easily defensible from the war-ships of King Charles. The colonists "rather made choice to enter further among the Indians than hazard the fury of malignant adversaries, who, in a rage, might pursue them, —and therefore chose a place situate on Charles River, between Charlestowne and Watertowne, where they erected a town called Newtowne." It was agreed that the governor, deputy governor, and nearly all the assistants should build their houses here during the following year, and that all the ordnance and munition should be removed hither. This agreement was not carried out, save by Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley and his son-in-law. Governor Winthrop and the members of his council never came to dwell here, and the intention of making it the seat of government was gradually abandoned. Because of the original intention, lines of fortifi-

cation were drawn, and the streets arranged at right angles. The first settlement was comprised between Harvard Square and the river, and from Holyoke Street on the east to Brattle Square on the west. The northern frontier, Harvard Street, later Massachusetts Avenue, was called Braintree Street. Behind the six houses on Braintree Street was the ancient forest. Through this forest ran the trail or path from Charlestown to Watertown, nearly coinciding with the crooked line Kirkland, Mason, Brattle, Elmwood and Mt. Auburn Streets. This was the first highway from the seaboard into the inland country. The palisaded wall with its ditch, for defense against Indians and wolves, started at Windmill Hill, by the present site of Ash Street, and ran along the northern side of the present Common into what is now Jarvis field, and perhaps beyond. The Common grazing-land extended beyond the palisade as far as Linnaean Street. By 1635, there were sixty-four house-lots within the town, and before the end of the year there were at least eighty-five houses in the new town. The only communication with Boston was by ferry. The place of execution was at the extreme end of the Common. Here in 1755 an old negro woman was burned alive

for the murder of her master.—Into this primitive settlement came those who had abandoned ease and honors at home to live serious lives in the wilderness, and to found a church without a bishop, and a state without a king. Compared to the homes of the present day, their homes, many of them, were little more than shanties or cabins. They had no roads or bridges, no mails, communication was difficult, they worked sixteen hours a day, and for recreation laid stone-walls.

In 1632 the Braintree company of Essex, England, which had begun to sit down at Mt. Wollaston, removed here, and they were followed in 1633 by Thomas Hooker, John Cotton and Samuel Stone. The voyage over was enlivened by three sermons almost every day. The people said that their three great necessities would be supplied, with Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building. With fasting and prayer, a church was organized, and Mr. Hooker was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher. The teacher was fully trained to expound Scripture, either before or after the sermon. Sometimes the pastor preached in the morning, and the teacher in the afternoon. The offices were gradually blended. The meeting-house

stood on the west side of Dunster Street, a little south of Mt. Auburn Street, and it is particularly recorded that it had a bell upon it.

Soon the people of Newtown complained that they hadn't room enough. Whether that was the real reason, or whether certain personal jealousies existed between the leading men of Newtown and Boston, has never been proved. It was a difficult matter to settle, and the Court agreed to lay the question before the Lord. A fast day was kept in all the congregations. The question temporarily settled, soon arose again, and in the summer of 1636 a majority of the members of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, one hundred in number, made their journey through the trackless wilderness, milking their cows as they went—with Mrs. Hooker in feeble health, carried in a horse-litter—to New-town, a little later called Hartford, Connecticut, so called from Mr. Stone's birthplace. Eleven families remained. The dwelling-houses left vacant by Hooker's company were bought by those more recently come from England.

On the fifth of November, 1605, the day that the plot to blow up Parliament was discovered, there was born in Towcester, North-

amptonshire, a child who was named Thomas, after the doubting disciple, because the father thought his son would hardly believe that "ever any such wickedness should be attempted by men against so religious and good a Parliament." His early life was much tormented by circumstances in his home, and by his own contrary inclinations. His later life, until he came to America, was certainly tormented by his religious experiences. Thomas Shepard was a pensioner at Emmanuel College, was studious, and left with a high reputation for scholarship. The Puritans raised a fund for the appointment of lecturers for those parts of the country which were without a proper ministry. It was while holding such an office that Bishop Laud summoned Shepard to answer for his preaching. He stood on the original Puritan ground, loving the established church, reluctant to leave it, willing to conform to its rules and customs in many things, unwilling to conform in others. Bishop Laud "looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague-fit." He sentenced him thus, "I charge you, that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial functions in any part of my

diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of this kingdom, and so everlastingly disable you." It was bishops on the backs of Puritans that gave to us this Commonwealth and nation, and the rage of Laud gave this church its first minister. Shepard became chaplain in the family of Sir Richard Darley, and married a kinswoman of the knight. He preached up and down the country. There was no rest for him. He was finally asked to come over to New England. He was willing to stay and suffer if that was best, but he said, "My dear wife did much long to see me settled there in peace, and so put me on to it." They came down from the north "in a disguised manner," then started on the voyage. They were set back on shore after a dangerous storm, and their only child died. The father did not dare to be present at the funeral, lest the officers of the church should seize him. He spent a winter out of sight of his enemies. In the summer of 1635, with another son, born that winter, whose birth was kept secret, he came to America, under the name of his brother. He arrived just as a large part of the congregation here was preparing to go to Hartford.

On the first of February O. S., 1636, this church was organized. Gov. Winthrop in his journal describes the ceremony. "Mr. Shepard, a godly minister, came lately out of England, and divers other good Christians, intending to raise a church body, came and acquainted the magistrates therewith, who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighboring churches for their elders to give their assistance at a certain day at Newtown. Accordingly at this day, there met a great assembly, where the proceeding was as followeth"—etc. The form of their covenant has not been preserved. It was probably the same as that of the first church in Boston, and was thought to have been written by Gov. Winthrop.

For years the church and town were one, but the church was that one. The old chronicles always speak of this church and town. The church was always spoken of as the meeting-house, except later when Christ Church was established. The building had a log frame, with a roof of slate or boards. The pews were square with seats on hinges, which were raised to make standing-room during prayer. In front of the desk were seats for the deacon and elders, and there were

rows of benches for men on one side, and women on the other. The meeting-house was the town-house, used on six days for secular affairs, on the seventh for worship. Church members were the only voters.

Thomas Shepard was eminently spiritual. It is said that he always finished his preparation for the pulpit by two o'clock on Saturday afternoon, accounting "that God would curse that man's labors who goes lumbering up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday afternoon goes into his study, when as God knows, that time were little enough to pray in, and weep in, and get his heart into a frame fit for the approaching Sabbath." He is described as a "poor, weak, pale-complectioned man," but also "the holy, heavenly, sweet-affecting, and soul-flourishing minister, in whose soul the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly that thousands of souls have cause to bless God for him."

In 1636, he was entreated by the General Court to join with the Governor and others in making a draft of laws agreeable to the word of God, "to be the fundamentals of this Commonwealth." His influence is instanced in the experience of Edward Johnson, who wandered out from Charlestown, and hearing

the sound of a drum (the drum for some reason had been substituted for the church-bell), "He crowdeth through the thickest, when, having stayed while the glass was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed, and was fain to hang down his head often, lest his watery eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections." Shepard's successor, Mitchel, said, "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with wonder than for those four years."

We must remember that these Puritan preachers considered that the service of God had been grievously abused by pipings, and organs, singing, ringing, trowling of Psalms from one side of the choir to the other, and squeaking of chanting choristers, disguised in white surplices. The clergy had been few and poor, and in the beginning, collections of homilies had been made for church use. In the seventeenth century, there were ten thousand parish churches, with only two thousand preachers. People had to go from five to twenty miles to hear a sermon, or be fined 12 d. for being absent. Preaching was considered a device for spreading false opinion. It was said that preaching had grown so much in

fashion that the service of the church was neglected, and the pulpit harangues were dangerous. The New England ministers seemed to think that the extreme length of their service showed a revulsion from Popery. There was no music whatever for a long time, unless the singing of Psalms unaccompanied. Then the bass-viol and violin were thought less idolatrous than the organ. The first American organ was not used until 1745. The hour-glass was always turned up at least once. Thomas Shepard speaks of "certain hearers who sit in the stocks when they are at prayers, and come out of the church when the tedious sermon runnes somewhat beyond the hour like prisoners out of a jaile." His shortest sermon was entitled "The Saint's Jewel." There were three divisions of text,—then a loving appellation, a gracious invitation, an argument for investigation, followed by three Reasons for the doctrine; these followed by four uses; under use two, thirteen objections with answers; under use three, two general subdivisions, with two objections and answers, one exhortation, and one warning; under use four, six divisions, followed by five considerations and five helps; the whole concluded by two Reproofs.

The contemporaries of these ministers ridiculed them. An English divine in a sermon entitled "The Scribe Instructed" says, "These new lights seize upon some text from whence they *draw* something which they call a doctrine, and well may it be said to be drawn from the words, forasmuch as it seldom naturally flows from them. In the next place, they branch into several heads, perhaps twenty or thirty or upward. Whereupon for the prosecution of these, they repair to some trusty concordance which never fails them, and by the help of that, they range six or seven scriptures under each head, which scriptures they prosecute one by one, enlarging upon one for some considerable time, till they have spoiled it, and then, that being done, they pass to another, which, in turn, suffers accordingly."

In 1639, the people met for a day of humiliation. They wished to suppress novelties, oppression, atheism, excess, superfluity, idleness, contempt of authority, and troubles in other parts to be remembered. These good, serious, earnest people prohibited slashed clothes, large sleeves, laces (gold, silver or thread), long hair, embroideries, and cakes and buns in markets and victualling-houses. They imposed taxes on sugar, spice, wine and

strong waters. Instead of considering marriage an ecclesiastical sacrament, the Puritan declared it a civil contract. Was there any passage in Scripture which made marriage part of the ministerial function? Then the minister must not perform it. It must be done by the civil magistrate as a secular rite. No marriage by a minister is found on record in New England before 1686. Burials came under the same category. What warrant in Scripture to warrant Popish mummery of prayer for the dead? Funerals were without scripture, psalm, sermon or prayer. A bell was tolled, and friends carried their dead to some church-yard or roadside enclosure, and silently laid them away.

The presence of Shepard in the New Town is believed to have shaped its destinies. "It was with a respect unto his vigilancy and his enlightening and powerful ministry, that when the foundation of a college was to be laid, Cambridge was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary, out of which proceeded many notable preachers, who were made such by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's ministry." In October, 1636, the General Court agreed to give £400 toward the founding of a college. The grant was six times as great as

had been given for protection against the Indians. The citizens of the New Town were first in good works. Here the first grammar-school was established, the first printing-press was set up, and the first Bible was printed in America, and from here went out the first Protestant mission of modern times to the heathen. Here the first college was founded. The old record says: "It pleased God also to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard, a godly gentleman living amongst us, to give the one halfe of his estate, and all his library. Another gave £300, others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest." During the first ten years of the life of the college, three-fifths of its graduates became ministers in the established Congregational churches of the colony, and for a whole generation more than half its graduates entered that ministry. From the beginning, the ministers of this church were associated with the college, and several were officers in it. The whole college attended our services when there was plenty of room for them all in the building, forty feet square. There were not more than eight or nine in the graduating-class.

Most of the clergymen who came to New England were graduates of Cambridge, and

people began to call the town Cambridge, after the college was established. In 1638, the General Court changed the name of Newtown to Cambridge. In 1639, the name Harvard was given to the college. In 1655, Cambridge included Brighton, Newton, and large parts of Arlington, Lexington, Bedford, and Billerica.

In 1646, a synod of delegates from the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut, assembled at Cambridge to define their creed and agree upon a system of church government. Their work was finished in 1648. The Westminster Assembly's Creed was adopted, as also a platform of church discipline known as "The Cambridge Platform," upon which all the Congregational churches of New England were able to stand for the next four generations. A desire for union, in face of the common loneliness and danger, brought about the assembling of the synod. The New England churches were no longer Independent but Congregational. Congregationalism was Independency touched by the spirit of fellowship. In 1637, a synod was convened for the exposure, condemnation and suppression of Antinomian doctrines, introduced by Anne Hutchinson and her followers. Eighty-two heretical opinions were con-

demned. In 1642, the Commencement of Harvard College was celebrated here. In 1651, John Eliot's first missionary station was established, and an Indian church organized. Shepard wrote tracts which Eliot translated.

Beginning with 1664, Cambridge was divided, and churches were established in Brighton, Lexington, and Menotomy or Arlington.

Thomas Shepard was married three times. His first wife died within two weeks of their arrival here, and he later married Thomas Hooker's eldest daughter. His third wife became upon Shepard's death the wife of his successor. Shepard died in 1649, leaving an estate of £810. He was forty-four years old. No man knoweth of his grave.

At about the time of the installation of Jonathan Mitchel, a new meeting-house was built on Watch-House Hill, near where Dane Hall now stands. It was forty feet square, with a shingled roof.

Jonathan Mitchel was born in Yorkshire, England, in 1624, and came to this country with his parents, on account of the persecutions there, when he was eleven years old. He entered college, and came at once under the influence of Thomas Shepard. He kept a

diary in Latin, and would often spend the greater part of a day in the woods in self-examination and prayer. After his graduation, he was made one of the Fellows of the College, and for a time was tutor. He was ordained here in 1650. His fame was in all the region. His utterance had such a becoming tunableness and vivacity to set it off, as was indeed inimitable. All along in his preaching, it was a very lovely song of one who hath a pleasant voice. The people would shake under his dispensations, yet mourn to think that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an heaven upon earth. During his ministry, Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard College, and a member of this church, not only forbore to present an infant of his own unto the baptism of our Lord, but also thought himself under some obligation to bear his testimony in some sermons against the administration of baptism to any infant whatsoever. It was hard for the people of the parish to resist his influence, and rebuke his conduct, for besides his official station, he had been after Shepard's death in the place of a pastor. Mitchel preached more than half a score of ungainsayable sermons upon the subject. Dunster was indicted by the grand

jury, publicly admonished by order of the court, and forced to give bonds for his good behavior. He later resigned his position as President. The Half-Way Covenant was adopted during Mitchel's time. It granted baptism to the children of certain persons who were not considered qualified for admission to the Lord's table. Mitchel has left us a list of the church-members in his day, the original manuscript of which we have. He died in 1668, in the eighteenth year of his ministry, and the forty-fourth of his age. There was great mourning and lamenting for him among his own people, and throughout the churches.

It was three years before the church had another pastor; the pulpit in the interim was occupied by President Chauncy and others. The Rev. Urian Oakes was ordained pastor in 1671, and because the people had so deep a sense of divine favor in giving them such a minister, they kept a day of public thanksgiving. The account of disbursements for the ordination contains 3 bushels of wheat, 2 bushels ½ of malt, 4 gallons of wine, beef, mutton, sugar, spice and frute, and other small things, amounting in all to £10. Mr. Oakes was born in England about 1631, and brought to this country by his parents in his childhood.

Observers said of him that if good-nature could ever carry one to heaven, this youth had enough to carry him thither. He graduated from Harvard in 1649. He preached his first sermon in Roxbury, then became a chaplain in England, and was later silenced as a nonconformist. He was a member of the Harvard Corporation, later Superintendent of the College, with the rank and duties of President, and in 1679 was elected President, retaining the pastoral care of the church. The Rev. Nathaniel Gookin was made assistant to the pastor.

There was a gallery built in the meeting-house, and Daniel Cheaver was appointed "to sit amongst the little boys at the north-east end of the meeting-house to see that there be no disorder."

The parsonage was built in 1670, on the north side of Harvard Street, now Massachusetts Avenue, with four acres attached to it, including the present site of Boylston Hall. It was occupied as a parsonage until 1807, when Dr. Holmes moved to a house known as Hastings House, on the site of the Gymnasium.

In the sheets recently found of Oliver Wendell Holmes' alumni address in 1863, there is

a Latin tribute to the memory of Thomas Shepard, the son of our minister, the minister in Charlestown, and an Overseer of the College. It was delivered at the commencement exercises in 1678 by the Rev. President Urian Oakes. He died in 1681 in the fiftieth year of his age, the tenth year of his ministry, and the sixth of his presidency. He was buried in our ancient God's-Acre. There is a charge upon the College-book for £16, 16s., 6 d. for scarfs and gloves, and £8, 14s. for 12 rings for Mr. Oakes' funeral.

The assistant minister, Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, was ordained in 1682. There is less known of this ministry than of either of the other ministers of the church. He was born in Cambridge in 1658, graduated from Harvard in 1675, and died in 1692 in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his ministry. His son and grandson were successively ministers at Hampton, N. H. Contributions for the poor were at this time, frequently for a single person, made on the Sabbath, as were collections for the redemption of captives. Usually about a pound was collected. Mr. Gookin's sermons were thoughtful, thorough, practical and vigorous. He was a Fellow of the College. He died in 1692.

He and his wife are both buried in the old burying-ground.

At a Corporation-meeting of the College £5 were voted toward repairing the meeting-house, "provided that this present allowance shall not be drawn into a precedent for the future, and that the selectmen shall renounce all expectation of such a thing for the future." After the death of Mr. Gookin, the pulpit was filled by various preachers. The amount paid for a single sermon was 10s., for a whole day's service £1. Increase Mather received the same compensation as the minister having the least fame. He was invited to become pastor, but his people among whom he had preached for thirty-six years were unwilling to release him. He preached much here, and gave his pay to Mr. Gookin's widow. She was also paid for entertaining the ministers.

Rev. William Brattle was ordained in 1696. He was of a wealthy and prominent family, was born in Boston, and was a tutor at the College. When smallpox prevailed, he stood at his post, venturing his life for the sick scholars. He was made Bachelor of Divinity in 1692—the first time this degree was ever conferred. He was Fellow and treasurer of the College. He published a system of Logic,

long used as a college text-book. He bequeathed £250 to the College, and was Fellow of The Royal Society of London. Mr. Brattle's salary was from £90 to £100, and many donations of wood, according to the custom,—in 1695 twenty-two loads. He died in 1717, with peace, and an extraordinary serenity of mind, and was buried here. It was the day of the "Great Snow," and the principal magistrates and ministers of Boston were detained here for several days. During Mr. Brattle's pastorate, seven hundred and twenty-four children were baptized, and three hundred and sixty-four persons were admitted to the church. He was a man of marked politeness and courtesy, of compassion and charity. He had a very large estate, and scattered his gifts with a liberal hand. His manner in the pulpit was "calm, soft and melting." He gave to the church a baptismal basin.

In 1706, the third meeting-house was erected on or near the site of the second. The Corporation of the College voted £60, and there was care to be taken for the building of a pew for the President's family, and for the students' seats.

The Rev. Nathaniel Appleton was ordained in 1717. He was born in Ipswich in 1693. He

graduated from Harvard in 1712. He was a Fellow of the College, and in 1771, he was made a Doctor of Divinity, the second time this degree had been conferred in seventy-eight years. Increase Mather received it then. In 1761, Christ Church was established. During Mr. Appleton's ministry of sixty-seven years, there were 2048 children baptized, 90 adults, and 784 admitted to church-fellowship. There are records of church discipline, and the appointment of a committee for inspecting the manners of professing Christians. When certain individuals fell into open sin, the church and the whole community met in solemn assembly and spent the forenoon in prayer and preaching.

The Revolution was coming on during this ministry, and the meeting-house opened its doors for public uses. Washington and his companions-in-arms came here to worship. The delegates from the towns of the state met here in 1779, and framed the Constitution. Here in 1774 the people kept a day of humiliation and prayer. In 1765, in our town-meeting, the first formal protest was made against the Stamp Act. "We can no longer stand idle spectators, but will join Boston in any measure to deliver ourselves and our posterity from

slavery." In 1777, it was voted that "because of the infirmities of our very aged pastor, it is agreeable and is the desire of the church that the Honorable and Rev. Pres. Langdon should administer the sacraments." In 1783, according to Rev. Mr. Appleton's records, a day of fasting and prayer by the church and congregation was held "to seek Divine direction for procuring a more fixed and settled preaching, and administration of the word and ordinances among us, considering the very advanced age and growing infirmities of me, their aged pastor." Mr. Appleton married a daughter of the Rev. Henry Gibbs of Watertown, and they had twelve children. While he was wooing Miss Gibbs, he happened to call while a rival suitor was at the house, his horse tied near the gate. Mr. Appleton tied his own horse, unloosed his rival's, and sent him down the street. He then went into the house, and asked his rival if that was his horse running away. Upon the hasty departure of the horse's owner, Mr. Appleton offered himself, and was accepted.

It was during Dr. Appleton's ministry that Whitefield came, and excited the country with his preaching. The faculty of the College published a pamphlet, being their testimony

against the Rev. George Whitefield. Mr. Whitefield somewhat modified what he had said. Many students were moved by his preaching, and by Mr. Appleton who was more "close and affecting" after Mr. Whitefield's visit. Mr. Appleton died in 1784 in the ninety-first year of his age.

The Rev. Timothy Hilliard became his successor, and was installed in 1783. Mr. Hilliard was a tutor in the College. He preached for a while in Barnstable before his settlement here. He died in 1790, in the seventh year of his ministry, and the forty-fourth of his age. He was studious and earnest, excelled in public prayer, and was "tenderly attentive to the sick and afflicted." He published five sermons, including a Dudleian lecture.

Dr. Abiel Holmes, born in 1763, was the ninth pastor of this church. He was a Yale graduate, and preached in the South for several years. In 1792, he became pastor of this church. The records of the church during his ministry are preserved in his own handwriting. At about this time, the number of inhabitants in Cambridge was about 2,200. There were 301 dwelling-houses, one-half in the first parish. There were five houses of worship in

each of the three parishes, one Congregational, one Episcopal and one Baptist. The University had five buildings, and 191 students. In 1797, the Communion service was established monthly. It had been held once in eight weeks previously. In 1809, there is an instance of the excommunication of a woman. Dr. Holmes said with pathos and solemnity, "I pronounce her to be a person from whom the followers of Christ are to withdraw as from one who walketh disorderly. The sentence now passed is but a representation of a sentence inconceivably more awful to be passed on the transgressor at the judgment-seat of Christ, unless it be prevented by a seasonable repentance." Contumacious behavior was the charge against her. Four years later, she gave evidence of contrition and repentance, and was readmitted to the communion, and restored to the fellowship and privileges of the church. A man was excommunicated for heretical writing, after fruitless efforts to reclaim him.

In 1805, there was a library established under the care of the church, and the pastor was chosen librarian. In the summer of 1815, a Sabbath-School was opened at the meeting-house, and more than eighty children received

instruction. In 1827 a juvenile library was collected by subscription.

In 1814 the Corporation and Overseers of the College decided that it was best for the members of the University to hold religious services by themselves. For 178 years the church and University had held their services together. The completion of University Hall which would contain a chapel favored the change. A committee, including the President, expressed the sentiments of regard and fraternity felt by the members of the several College boards, and the desire of Christian and friendly communion between the two societies. Five delegates, with the pastor, were appointed to attend the formation of the new church, and the pastor was requested "to reciprocate the assurance of regard and fraternity so kindly expressed by the University towards us." The Covenant is dated Harvard College, Nov. 6, 1814. Our church record of the event closes by stating that on the Lord's day, 6th Nov., 1814, the church was organized at University Hall, in the presence and by the assistance of the pastor and delegates of the First Church in Cambridge.

In 1824, Lafayette was received in our

church and made welcome in an address by President Kirkland.

In 1807, Dr. Holmes left the ancient parsonage and removed to the house in Holmes Place. The Cambridgeport church was organized in 1809 with Rev. Thomas Brattle Gannett, a member of our church, as pastor. Dr. Holmes preached in the Episcopal church by the request of the wardens and vestry on Christmas Day, 1809. Edward Everett became a member of this church in 1812.

On the 20th of July, 1827, a memorial signed by sixty-three members of the parish was presented to the pastor, remonstrating with him for discontinuing professional exchanges with certain ministers, and recommending a return to his former custom. As early as 1787, the society worshipping at King's Chapel set aside the English Liturgy it had been using, and adopted one excluding all acknowledgment of the Trinity. 1806 is accounted the time for the beginning of the controversy. It was closely concealed, according to one writer. Not until the spring of 1815 was it drawn from its hiding-place. In 1804, at a conference on the appointment of Dr. Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity, orthodoxy was for the first time openly with-

stood. Whitefield's first visit in 1740 furnishes abundant proof that all the elements of Unitarianism were then at work here. President Edwards wrote in opposition to certain heresies. President John Adams in 1750 affirmed that his own minister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, Shute and Gay of Hingham, and Brown of Cohasset were Unitarian, and he adds, "How many I could name among the laity,—lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, farmers." The three points which formed the issue were the doctrine of original sin, a belief in the Deity of Christ, and the atonement. By 1827, a large part of the ministers of the churches in this immediate neighborhood had embraced the liberal principles of belief. About this time, the American Unitarian Association was formed. No single year marked the complete cutting off of ministerial exchanges. It came about gradually, and began to be noticed by the people. A large majority of the legal voters in the affairs of the parish chose the more liberal views. They complained of the change in the pastor's practice, and hence sent the memorial mentioned earlier, wherein they spoke of the peace and harmony which had existed, and requested him to exchange a reasonable proportion of

the time with such respectable clergymen of liberal sentiments in this vicinity as had heretofore been admitted into his pulpit, and with others of similar character. The pastor replied that he thought an interview with him, before any paper had been drawn up, would have been more favorable to truth and peace. There was a protracted controversy. To no measures whereby Unitarian clergymen might preach for a portion of the time would Dr. Holmes consent. He claimed that there had been no change in doctrinal teaching from the time of Shepard, that he was standing on the old foundation and continuing the instruction for which he was called to the pastorate. Through all this controversy, the church stood by him,—the church and pastor on one side, the parish on the other. Finally, the parish proposed to call a mutual ecclesiastical council. The church and a minority of the parish declared that the ancient usage was for the church and parish to concur in questions touching the settlement and removal of a minister. The church insisted on their right to participate in the calling of a mutual council. The parish objected to the admission of the church. Dr. Holmes agreed to consent to a mutual ecclesiastical council. The parish placed their

refusal on the grounds that the church had no complaint against the pastor or the parish.

The parish called an ex parte council in 1829, representing six Unitarian churches. A copy of the complaint to be presented against him was given to the pastor, before the meeting. In a written communication, Dr. Holmes denied the jurisdiction of such a council, and the remonstrance of the church and a minority of the parish was presented. The council sent a committee to appraise Dr. Holmes of their readiness to receive any further information from him. He received the committee kindly, and replied that he had no further communication to make. The Hon. Samuel Hoar was council for the parish. The ex parte council voted that "The First Parish in Cambridge have sufficient cause to terminate the contract subsisting between them and the Rev. Dr. Holmes as their minister, and this council recommend the measure as necessary to the existence and spiritual prosperity of the society." The parish accepted this vote, and voted that "the Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes be, and hereby is dismissed from his office of minister of the gospel, and teacher of piety, religion and morality in said parish, and that all connection between said Holmes as such minister or teach-

er and said parish do and shall henceforth cease." They voted him three months' salary and the use and occupation of the real estate until the next January. In June, 1829, they told the pastor that they had employed a preacher to supply the pulpit in the meeting-house on the next ensuing Sabbath, and for succeeding Sabbaths, and that his services would not be required or authorized. Dr. Holmes replied that he still considered himself the lawful minister of the parish. A reply from the parish committee stated that the council's decision was legal and valid, and that he was not minister to said parish, and that he could not occupy nor use the pulpit of said parish.

Thereupon a majority of the church members of the church withdrew, and with their pastor, held service in the old Courthouse, "in the presence of a full, attentive and solemn assembly." The whole number of church members was about ninety, two-thirds of whom followed the pastor. Of the whole number of persons who usually worshipped in the meeting-house, about one-half withdrew. The members of the church who went away with Dr. Holmes called an advisory council representing ten churches, which approved of

the course pursued by the minister in "continuing to perform parochial duties wherever and to whomsoever he may have opportunity." A new society was organized. Dr. Holmes declined to have it bear the name of the Holmes Congregational Society, and in accordance with his wish, it took the name of The Shepard Congregational Society. Rev. Dr. Holmes could not, as he felt, connect himself with this organization, because he did not consider himself legally dismissed from his pastoral connection with The First Parish. But the church members who went away agreed to unite with the new society to maintain the worship and ordinances of the gospel until their rights and those of their pastor should be again respected by The First Parish.

A new church home was built and dedicated in 1831. It was at the corner of Mt. Auburn and Holyoke Streets. In 1872, the present church, at the corner of Mason and Garden Streets, was dedicated.

The Rev. William Newell was called to the pastoral care of our parish in May, 1830. The Rev. Dr. Holmes and the church under his care entered a protest against his ordination, without avail. In 1831, the deacons of the church which remained with The First Parish

demanded of the deacons of the church going out from The First Parish the delivery of certain articles of church property—the church fund, the poor's fund, the communion service and baptismal basin, the church records, library, etc. The demand was not obeyed, and a law-suit was begun. The Supreme Court of the Commonwealth having decided in similar cases that deacons going away cannot retain the church property, the church property in question was given up to the deacons of the church who remained with the parish. The principle laid down was that where a majority of the members of a Congregational church separate from the minority members who remain with the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto. In Dr. McKenzie's opinion, the true course would have been to say, "Let us divide our goods and separate." Dr. Crothers said at our first meeting last fall, "Today, there need have been no separation." Dr. Newell met the storm by a refusal to engage in controversy, ignoring enmity. As a result of his sweet and gentle disposition, the quarrel soon passed into oblivion, and lingers as a dim recollection. Dr. Newell was born in

1804. His school and college career was very brilliant. He entered Harvard in the class of 1824, and the Divinity School, in 1829. When he was fifteen he wrote his first poetry. He was an usher in the Boston Latin School. His health was precarious. After preaching occasionally in some of our large cities, he was settled here, and stayed for thirty-eight years. He found here a partial union of church and state, the minister, an officer of the community, elected by the voters of the town. He saw the minister become the temporary officer of a voluntary association, an association only one among many similar societies.

In 1832, the parish sold to the college the valuable land on which the old meeting-house stood, and also the parsonage lot, in consideration of which, the present lot was transferred to the parish, and the present church was erected thereon at the expense of the college. In this church, the college reserved the title to one gallery, and to a President's pew in the body of the church, together with the use of the building on special college days. Up to 1873, annual college commencements were held here. From the beginning there were poor in the parish, and collections were taken at each communion service for their benefit.

For their relief also there was and is an annual Thanksgiving collection. The minister and the deacons acted as a Relief Society. At one time, there were fourteen retired ministers in the congregation. Dr. Newell was a wonderful man. As the years of his ministry passed, his face seemed to grow constantly more radiant and benignant. His presence was a benediction, which seemed to leave, as he passed among his people, a sweetening and consecrating influence. He rarely spoke of himself, and in the course of fifty years, never did he bring his personal joys or sorrows before an audience. He had a sunny, playful humor, and often expressed himself in verse. An Ode From The Greek of Anacreon, sent to a relative with a pair of gloves to be mended, runs thus:—

"The right glove
Holds my love,
And the left glove
My wife's love;
And both the gloves
Both our loves.
Lovely gloves."

He wrote a lovely sonnet on his seventy-fifth birthday; he wrote many beautiful hymns, and only the second day before his death, when he

was so weak that he could scarcely raise his head, he wrote on a scrap of paper, found afterwards,

> "Rises the glorious sun,
> And o'er the world doth run,
> Filling with light and life
> Things hidden in the night."

He severed his connection with the parish in 1868, but fulfilled parochial duties for a long time afterwards.

After the resignation of Dr. Newell, the church had no pastor until 1874, when Rev. Francis G. Peabody was installed. He was born in Boston, and graduated from Harvard in 1869, and from the Divinity School in 1872. I find record in 1877 of a chorus choir, and Dr. Peabody says, "When the change was made, there was apprehension of grave injury. The congregation has never been so large—from four hundred and fifty to five hundred and fifty. Through constant loyalty of our singers, more than by any other single means, we are brought into our present financial prosperity." In 1879, temporary ill-health caused Dr. Peabody's resignation. He goes in and out among us, and the older members of our congregation look back to his ministry with grateful remembrance. Two silver com-

munion plates inscribed in memory of his wife are the gift of Dr. Peabody.

The church has also some very ancient and interesting pieces of silver. Two of the four tankards are dated 1654. One has the date 1724. The christening basin, noted before, was the gift of Rev. William Brattle in 1717, and two other tankards with cups were recast in 1826, and made into cups of a uniform shape and size.

In January, 1882, Dr. Edward H. Hall, until then settled at Worcester, became our pastor. He graduated from Harvard in 1851, and was settled at Plymouth and Worcester. Dr. Hall resigned in 1893. His stately figure and scholarly presence were familiar to us until his death but recently, and now we have his memory perpetuated in the room which bears his name, and by his books which he gave to us. During his pastorate in 1886, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the church was celebrated, and there were all-day exercises here and at the Shepard church, in which both societies participated equally, and committees from both were responsible for the success of the occasion, which served to seal our mutual friendship.

Dr. Crothers was invited to become our min-

ister in 1893, but it was not until the next year that he accepted, and was installed on June 7, 1894. In 1896, a special meeting was called to consider the matter of a new church covenant, and the securing of a larger church membership. The following covenant was adopted in place of the one in use since 1834. "In the love of truth, and the spirit of Jesus, we unite for the worship of God, and the service of man." In 1899, a committee composed of Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Mr. E. H. Nichols, and Mr. Hollis R. Bailey of this church, and Mr. Charles T. Russell, Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook and Mr. George S. Saunders of the Shepard Society was chosen; not to discuss the legal rights of the respective churches, but to decide upon such official and common names for the two churches as should avoid confusion. The official names chosen vary in length; the common names are First Church in Cambridge (Unitarian), First Church in Cambridge (Congregational). The chairman of the Shepard committee expressed the committee's views as follows: "My committee begs to express what my church would confirm, their appreciation of the Christian and courteous spirit in which your committee has met with us, and to extend every good wish for the life and

prosperity of your church, and of the coming new First Parish meeting-house." The new meeting-house is still coming, but the Parish House, the beautiful new interior of the old meeting-house, the new organ, and the new evidence of patriotism, as old as the oldest meeting-house, are known to us all.

In 1905, Miss Jeannie Paine left over $200,-000 to our parish. The administration of this and other funds contributes in great degree to the comfort of the poor of Cambridge. Mrs. Chesley's connection with the work since 1905 has made our Parish House a refuge to those in need, and a bright spot for us all.

In 1911, the church, existant but unincorporated, since 1636 or earlier, and the congregation, organized as such in 1867, were merged into one body. This gives us the church—the ecclesiastical body, and the parish —the business body.

The calling to the associate ministry of the Rev. Frederick M. Eliot we know, as well as his able work in the Sunday school, and in all departments of the church and parish. Because of the rare combination of a keen executive and business ability, and a deep and unusual spirit of reverence, he has drawn about him the older members of the church, and he

has won the loyalty of the young—even the youngest people. It is with the deepest regret that we relinquish him, and bid him and Mrs. Eliot God-speed. In September, St. Paul and the West are to be the richer for his presence.

Our meeting-house from the beginning has held within its four walls the ablest men of each succeeding period of history, and its people have gone forth to put into practice what they have learned in its pews. At the present time, its activities, through its large number of committees, spread through the length and breadth of this great city an influence which the city's limits cannot restrain. And now, when the atmosphere is tense with patriotic zeal, and we know not what the next moment may bring forth, again this church has opened its doors, and answered the call, as it did in the Revolution, and in the Civil War, and now, as then, its people will stand here to serve, or go forth to serve their country and the world.

I cannot speak of our pastor without the deepest emotion. He stands to us as our leader, and the guiding spirit of every activity of this church. Honored by Harvard, known throughout the country for his spiritual power,

and throughout the world of scholars for his writing, he modestly seeks to hide himself behind the works of his church. With the broadest vision, walking above and before, yet always with us, he would lead us into paths where there is no strife, no war, but justice, and always strength and resultant peace. May his eyes behold, in this twentieth century, which has brought us the greatest war the world has ever known—the most peaceful revolution the world has ever known—may his eyes behold the greatest peace the world has ever known!

ANNIVERSARY HYMN

O God, the record of our days
  In Thy great book appears,
And now we offer Thee the praise
  Of five and seventy years.

The plant our saintly founder set
  Has grown a goodly tree,
And in its kindly shelter met
  We lift our song to thee.

No banner but Thy love we need,
  No trumpet in our van;
God's Fatherhood our only creed,
  And brotherhood of man.

So "in the freedom of the truth,"
  Led by our Lord above,
We pledge our prime, as then our youth,
  To worship and to love.

EDWARD A. CHURCH.

For the Seventy-fifth
Anniversary of
the Church of the Disciples,
April 27, 1916.

CHURCH OF THE DISCIPLES

On the 7th of January, 1841, James Freeman Clarke wrote to his sister, "I agree with those who think it a good time to form a new congregation in Boston."

Acting upon this conviction, a series of meetings was held for conversation and discussion in the parlors of people interested in the new movement. These gatherings are remembered by Miss Lucia M. Peabody, who has been associated with the Church of the Disciples from its earliest beginnings to the present day. Her father's house on Bowdoin Street was one of the homes opened for the early meetings.

After several of these parlor conferences a chapel on Phillips Place, which was off Tremont Street, just north of Beacon, was hired, and was occupied for four Sundays. This chapel proving too small, Amory Hall was secured, an audience-room up two flights, in a building on the northern corner of Washington and West Streets.

The Church of the Disciples was organized April 27 upon the simple "faith in Jesus as the Christ," and the single purpose to form a church in which all might "co-operate together

in the study and practice of Christianity." This covenant was signed by forty-six names, and sixteen others were added within a month.

For seven years the society worshipped in a succession of places, chiefly in Amory Hall, Ritchie Hall, and in the Masonic Temple on Tremont Street, corner of Temple Place. Sunday services were held in the latter for four years. During these seven years, regular Wednesday evening meetings were held at the homes of parishioners, for religious study and for the discussion of matter pertaining to the society and to the public needs of the day.

Freeman Place Chapel, which is still standing on the top of Beacon Hill, was then built, and dedicated March 15, 1848.

But Mr. Clarke's long illness and absence from Boston finally led to the sale of this building. He returned in the autumn of 1853, and resumed his pastorate Jan. 1, 1854, in Williams Hall, corner of Washington and Dover Streets, where services were held for the greater part of the year.

On Jan. 28, 1855, the Church of the Disciples came into the possession of the Indiana Place Chapel, uniting with the society gathered there seven years before, by the Rev. Thomas B. Fox.

The next removal was to the new house on West Brookline Street and Warren Avenue, first occupied Christmas Day, 1868, and dedicated Feb. 28, 1869. Here Mr. Clarke preached the remaining nineteen years of his life, and here Mr. Ames succeeded to the pastorate, Jan. 1, 1889. The last service in Brookline Street was held June 25, 1905. The corner-stone of the Peterborough Street building was laid Oct. 14, 1904; the first service was held Oct. 1, 1905; the dedication occurred Nov. 19, 1905.

Through the winters of 1910-11 the church was overshadowed by the increasing illness and disability of its beloved pastor, Charles Gordon Ames, who gave up his active work in December, 1909. His long and blessed pastorate ended in 1912, when he died on April 15. Abraham Mitrie Rihbany had been chosen as his associate early in 1911 and he was installed as minister of the church on May 18, 1911.

This, in brief, is the story of the Church of the Disciples from its founding in 1841, until the present time. The history of the church has been chiefly the story of the lives of its ministers.

It is not the purpose of this paper to repeat

the long and interesting story of the life of James Freeman Clarke from the time of his birth on April 4, 1810, in Hanover, N. H. (where his parents were temporarily residing), to his death in the gracious ripeness of years, in full trust of the heavenly protection, June 8, 1888. That narrative has been charmingly told in its earlier years, through autobiography, and in its later years, through the "Biographical Sketches," written by Edward Everett Hale. But rather its aim is to emphasize certain traits in a man who has left his mark so strongly upon his day and generation, that his memory never fades. His life here in this world continually advances, bearing fruit more and more abundantly.

What were the elements that entered into that life? He had a rich moral and intellectual inheritance,—a father reserved and versatile; a mother so social that she could not go a mile or two from her home without returning all aglow with descriptions of the interesting people she had met,—a woman who when the father's business failed could open her home on Beacon Hill and fill it with such choice spirits as Jared Sparks, Horace Mann, and the three daughters of Nathaniel Peabody. Mr. Clarke says, "I do not know when we were

happier than in those days. We were all poor, but all who could were doing something to support themselves." "Give me neither poverty nor riches" was Mr. Clarke's ideal of the proper environment for growing youth. He was himself fortunate in living in just that kind of environment. When he was six weeks old, his mother brought him from Hanover to the old homestead in Newton where she remained with him for a season. From that time onward his home was with his grandparents. We can not over-estimate the influence of this early home. His grandfather, James Freeman, was his companion and teacher from the first. Before the age of ten, he was reading the classics with ease. Charming, indeed, is the picture of the young boy, spending his half holiday, entranced with the first reading of Marmion. He says, "As the sun was setting, I reached the end of the poem, and in the farewell verses read with astonishment these lines:

> "To thee, dear school-boy, whom my lay
> Has cheated of thy hour of play,—
> Light task and merry holiday,"

and it seemed as if Scott were close beside me, talking to me in person."

This early love of poetry shows the bent of

his mind, which Dr. Frederick H. Hedge in later years tells us was the chief source of his power. Dr. Hedge says: "You do not get a true estimate of Clarke unless you see him as a poet." He approached all subjects from the poetical side, and this poetical habit of looking at everything gave him the fairness which was one of his chief characteristics. "The rest of us have written as though we were philosophers," continues Dr. Hedge; "Clarke always wrote, no matter how dull his subject, as a poet writes." Judging from the hymns and poems he has left to us, we can not doubt that had James Freeman Clarke been free to cultivate his poetic gift, the world would have had another great poet. Those who have sat under the spell of his preaching, or felt the very spirit lifted to heaven by his prayer, or have known the power of his written word are quite content to know this gifted man forever as the poet-preacher. His hymn, "Father to us, thy children humbly kneeling" has become endeared to all our churches, while "Cana," which is less widely known, has a beauty that is unsurpassed.

In his college life at Harvard, James Freeman Clarke rejoiced in the intimate companionship of William Henry Channing, Oliver

Wendell Holmes and Ralph Waldo Emerson. He knew Margaret Fuller, that remarkable young woman who resided in Cambridge, and whose conversational powers gave strength and delight to all who knew her. His views of education were advanced for his day. He deplored the time wasted in listening to recitations for the sake of stirring to emulation, when time could be better spent in presenting new subjects of interest and new motives for attainment.

After graduating at Harvard, and finishing his studies at the Divinity School, he chose a western church for his first parish. In Louisville, Kentucky, whither he had travelled long distances by stage and by boat, he preached extemporaneously that first sermon upon the text, "whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." After this halting preaching was over, he went to his room, disheartened. No one had spoken a word of encouragement, and he despaired of being able to keep on with his work. It seems that the parish did talk him over as a decidedly hopeless case, but felt that there was something worth while in his prayer, and concluded to give him further trial. He improved continually, and his charm of personality soon won

the friendship of his parish. He became superintendent of schools, and his influence grew steadily among all the people. He suffered much from home-sickness, though his life was greatly cheered and enriched by a remarkable correspondence. The letters from friends at home were full of interesting accounts of all that was going on in the Boston of that day. His loneliness was not for long, for he was soon blessed by that companionship of a noble woman which strengthened and cheered all the years of his earthly life. The Huidekopers, a family of liberal tendencies, rich in resources of every kind, had left their home in Holland and located in Meadville, Pennsylvania. Here they planted a Unitarian church, and laid the foundations of a theological school. James Freeman Clarke was invited to preach at Meadville, and while there he formed the friendship of this family and won the abiding love of the true and beautiful Anna Huidekoper. This companionship was full of rich meaning to the future Church of the Disciples.

James Freeman Clarke writes to Mrs. Clarke from Louisville:

"I have made up my mind to one thing conclusively, not to commit myself hastily to any new situation or work. What I next under-

take, I wish to continue at through life. If I know myself I wish to be useful, and whatever I do, I wish preaching always to be my chief work. I love my profession, see my deficiencies, see my capabilities, and expect and intend to improve."

Later in speaking of a free church, he writes, "This is no new idea with me. I have been studying and preparing for it for years, and I have full faith that it can be effected."

It is very interesting to us who have been associated with the Church of the Disciples, to trace the early beginnings of its history, to think of the initiative power of the young minister of thirty-one, which made the church possible, to follow the conversations with William Ellery Channing and with other gifted men, and finally to read the record of that thrilling meeting on April 27, 1841, at which the declaration of faith was discussed and voted upon.

"We whose names are subscribed unite in the following faith and purpose:

Our faith is in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and we do hereby form ourselves into a Church of his Disciples that we may cooperate together in the study and practice of Christianity."

We determined to have no other organization, not to organize as a religious society upon the money basis. "By the social principle, I mean," said James Freeman Clarke, "frequent meetings for conversation on religious subjects. By the voluntary principle, no pews sold, rented, or taxed, but worship supported by voluntary subscriptions. By the congregational principle, I mean that the congregation should join in the hymns and prayers."

Our young people, yesterday, in the driving wind and falling snow, retraced the story of the Church of the Disciples from this new church building on Peterborough Street to the old familiar home on West Brookline Street, and on to the sites of Indiana Place Chapel, Amory Hall, Phillips Place Chapel, Freeman Place Chapel and finally to the old home of Miss Lucia M. Peabody on Bowdoin Street. They sang hymns at the homes of Miss Lilian Freeman Clarke and Miss Annette P. Rogers, whose lives are closely linked with our history.

It is interesting to dwell upon the period of our church history which centered about Indiana Place Chapel. When this chapel was secured from the society which had been gathered there by Rev. Thomas B. Fox, its life began to grow rapidly.

Mr. Clarke was surrounded by a remarkable group of people. Here were held the never to be forgotten "Wednesday evening meetings" at which subjects pertaining to religion and to moral welfare were discussed:

"What is doing for the poor?"
"What is doing for children?"
"What is doing for animals?"

John A. Andrew, who had been attracted to the Church of the Disciples by Mr. Clarke's preaching, writes in a letter to a friend:

"He has the best mind, style, and everything for a minister that is a-going. He is logical, sensible, earnest, pious, forcible, solemn, quiet and calm; in fine my beau-ideal of a pulpit orator, and a private gentleman and a Christian."

At the fiftieth birthday of James Freeman Clarke, celebrated at Indiana Place Chapel, Governor Andrew says: "I confess for myself that I do not know how I could over-estimate the influence of this home of the soul on the happiness and welfare of my life. Amid all distractions, and griefs, and bewilderments, I have seen the vision of this temple, and heard its calm voice and helpful wisdom, encourag-

ing, winning, teaching, and strengthening the love of the best goodness and the highest truth."

The thirteen years in Indiana Place are remembered to-day with thrilling interest. There the trying days of the Civil War called forth the noble patriotism of minister and people. Great sermons were preached that called all to stand by one another in those dark hours that the nation might be safe. After the attack on Fort Sumter, said Mr. Clarke the following Sunday in his pulpit: "This is a sort of Pentecostal day, in which the whole multitude are of one heart and one soul; nor says anyone that aught that he possesses is his own, but 'we have all things in common.'" Whenever anything very discouraging happened, Mr. Clarke was full of hope and courage, giving out for the first hymn:

> "Give to the winds thy fears,
> Hope and be undismayed."

When all hearts were saddened by the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and churches throughout the city were draped in black, the congregation at Indiana Place Chapel felt the gloom lift as they entered the church and be-

held the altar draped in the richest purple decorated with lilies.

Besides John A. Andrew, always the friend of the negro, the society had as members Mr. and Mrs. Ellis Gray Loring, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, and many others of distinguished personality. Mrs. Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was written on that famous visit to Washington during this period of our church history.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the freed negroes were left by their masters in South Carolina and elsewhere. Our church sent more than one teacher to the South to teach these freed men. Our friend, Miss Botume, who went in 1864, made it her life work. She lived for more than forty winters in the South carrying on a work very close to the heart of our minister.

But we must not linger in these earlier days. At the Fiftieth Anniversary of the church, held in the West Brookline Street church two years after the coming of Mr. Ames as our minister, Mr. William C. Williamson quoted Mr. Clarke's own words as follows:

"I am grateful for being permitted to belong to a church which has kept its doors and seats open to all, where the stranger is made to

feel at home, where there are no distinctions and no separation,—a church which is not managed by a few pew-owners, but by all the society, both men and women; which has a large nucleus of permanent members, but also a new congregation each Sunday for transient guests; which has contained all shades of political, religious, and social differences, but where all are brothers and sisters, and where there is small chance of inward dissension, since, if any one is dissatisfied, not being anchored by a pew, he can go quietly elsewhere, and find a church home which suits him better.

"Among our most valued members have been those who, favored by circumstances, have had hearts yet larger than their means, like two of our founders, Mr. Samuel Cabot and Mr. Henry B. Rogers. Others whom we love and honor are hard-working people, working for others, and helping to support a parent or educate younger brothers and sisters. Of one such, years ago, her nephew spoke to me after church as 'Aunt Mary.' Governor Andrew, who was standing near, said to him: 'She is closer to us than that,—she is our Sister Mary.'"

We like to remember that Dr. Clarke called the West Brookline Street Church the home

of his soul. Here he preached his great sermons on the Lord's Prayer, the sermon on the "Five Points of Calvinism" and the "Five Points of the New Theology," and that remarkable succession of sermons, year after year, that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Gazette.*

The sermon on the "Five Points" gave the basis for the publication of the statement of "Our Faith" which appeared in later years, and which has had a wide distribution in our own country and in England. The five points are as follows:

The Fatherhood of God
The Brotherhood of Man
The Leadership of Jesus
Salvation by Character
The Progress of Mankind Onward and Upward Forever.

It is interesting to note the charitable work which took beginning and grew in this church: The Children's Aid Society, the Home for Aged Colored Women, the South End Industrial School, Miss Botume's work for the South, Mrs. Thacher's Book Mission, Miss Clarke's Post Office Mission and Cheerful Letter work, and her work for Destitute

Mothers and Infants, the New England Hospital for Women and Children, nor can we ever forget the large Mission Sunday School, with William H. Baldwin superintendent, which brought together some three or four hundred children from Sunday to Sunday.

From the beginning, the great work of Tuskegee was encouraged and supported, while the support of our American Unitarian Association was placed first of all.

When we think of the large number of books written by Dr. Clarke, we recall the line in Dr. Holmes's poem written for the Seventieth Birthday:

> "His labors,—will they ever cease,—
> With hand and tongue and pen?"

Among the many books, perhaps those best known are The Christian Doctrine of Prayer, Self-Culture, Truths and Errors of Orthodoxy, Ten Great Religions, Essentials and Non-Essentials, Everyday Religion, Thomas Didymus, The Apostle Paul.

After the twenty-eight years which have passed since the death of James Freeman Clarke, shall we not ask, with Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the searching question in her centenary poem and find with her an answer:

"Lifting from the past its veil,
What of his does now avail?
Just a mirror in his breast
That revealed a heav'nly guest,
Just the love that made us free,
Of the same high company.
This he brought us, this he left,
When we were of him bereft."

Looking into this mirror of his life we behold reverence, truth, fairness, conviction, faith even unto death, hope and courage, love for humanity and love of country, all blended with a saving gift of humor, a commonsense, an equilibrium of impulse and judgment and a belief in prayer beyond compare. It is difficult to choose from the richness of his thought the few selections that shall speak his message.

The following may give a suggestion of his wisdom and his power. He says of travel: "There is no way to get rid of our ignorance and narrowness but by going to see other parts of the country with our own eyes. All the union meetings ever held do not do half so much to preserve the union as a single railroad."

He gives this charge at an ordination:

"Finally, my brother, I charge you to study and preach Christ. You will find God in

Nature and in History. You will find God in the intuition of eternal truth which moves your own soul, but except you also preach God in Christ, there is a large portion of human experience before which you will stand helpless."

His love of humanity shines in the familiar passage:

"Of all the holy things which God has made, the most holy is man himself. He is the temple of God; for the spirit of God dwells in him, and wherever a human being stands, there stands something greater than the Temple at Jerusalem."

He treats of hell as a condition of the soul which has awakened to a sense of its own imperfections, a condition beyond that state from which the soul was aroused, a condition marking progress. He says: "God's hell, like God's heaven, is above us, not below us. We go up to it, not down."

With Dr. Clarke the poetical side of thought was closely allied with the spiritual. He was timidly sensitive about making his poems and hymns public. He had a strong feeling of the peculiar sacredness of prayer. This led him to advocate the making of attendance at prayers voluntary at Harvard College, when he stood quite alone in this view. At this time he made

a better argument in favor of retaining the old system than was made by any of those who were its advocates, and then concluded:

"These reasons would be cogent if it were not for one which I regard as final. If I understand the teachings of Jesus, prayer is too sacred a thing to be used for *any* secondary purpose, however good."

His sympathetic spirit understood every form of evil. He writes of idolatry:

"I would be very tender of any idolatry. I often find people adoring very enthusiastically books or artists or people who to me seem poor and empty. But I am very careful not rudely to criticise their faith. They think some poetaster to be a great poet. Be it so. I will not say a word against it. They are groping after pearls. They think a man a great orator, and burn with enthusiasm for him; while to me he appears only a rhetorician, a man of words. They admire a preacher who to me seems talking verbiage and commonplaces. Well, who knows what real religion may come to them through this channel? We have this treasure in earthen vessels. I will not be an iconoclast, except when absolutely necessary. If truth requires me to blow a jarring and dissonant blast, I will do it, but not otherwise.

Idolatry, in the divine order, may be the first step to true religion. Let it not be unclothed, but clothed upon."

The following letter written to a minister of another faith shows his commonsense in matters pertaining to the outward forms of religion, and his strong belief in the power of essentials over the non-essentials:

"Dear Brother Wright:—Let me introduce to you my friend and parishioner, Mr. ——, for whom I ask the privilege of attending some of your prayer and conference meetings—if you continue to hold them at this season. Ours are discontinued, but I think that Mr. —— needs the strength that often comes to us from such communion. I am sure that you will not welcome him the less heartily because he is a member of our church and proposes to continue such. There are many reasons why he should do so; nevertheless, I do not think our church can supply him just now with all he wants, and perhaps in yours he may find some added strength. I know that this is an unusual proceeding, but I think it is a right thing to do. I have no doubt that there are many persons in most churches who would be helped, for a time at least, by trying the ministration of some other. Why should we not say to such members: 'Go and see if you cannot get some good in the Episcopal Church, or the Methodist,—something which we cannot give you?' It might not be the best way to build up a sect, but it might build up Christianity.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE."

To a spirit abounding with life, even the shadows of death were "Protecting Shadows," and he could cheerily sing:

> "Be happy now and ever,
> Since from the love divine
> No power the soul can sever."

Among the many tributes to his memory, none was more complete, none more sympathetic with the all-round development of this gifted preacher and friend than that of Phillips Brooks, who poured forth his soul in a sermon preached in Trinity Church the Sunday immediately following the word of the death of Dr. Clarke:

"He belonged to the whole church of Christ. Through him his master spoke to all that had ears to hear. Especially he was a living, perpetual epistle to the Church of God which is in Boston. It is a beautiful, a solemn moment, when the city, the church, the world gathers up the completeness of a finished life like his, and thanks God for it, and places it in the shrine of memory to be a power and a revelation thenceforth so long as city and church and world shall last. It is not the losing, it is rather the gaining, the assuring of his life,—whatever he has gone to in the great mystery beyond, he

remains a word of God here in the world he loved. Let us thank our Heavenly Father for the life, the work, the inspiration of his true servant, his true saint, James Freeman Clarke."

We can not leave this sketch of the life of the founder of the Church of the Disciples without paying our reverent tribute to his ideal marriage, and expressing our admiration of that truly beautiful woman whose presence blessed the Church of the Disciples for nearly fifty years. Shall we not let Dr. Ames say the word for us here and now which he spoke in the pulpit of the West Brookline Street Church on Sunday, April 4, 1897, in remembrance of Anna Huidekoper Clarke?

"For nearly half a century a noble and faithful woman moved by the side of James Freeman Clarke, as a companion loved and trusted, a wise counselor, a glad sharer of his labors and aspirations, and the good angel of his life. Last Friday evening, as the sun sank into the West, she passed peacefully to join him in their new home, and their new career of service and of joy. These nine years she has lingered among us, passing softly in and out from this house of worship that she loved, a beautiful, honored, and sacred presence, and

already she is a memory. But we shall think of them, almost we shall *see* them, as a shining pair, forever happy, and forever young. For surely they, if any, will

'Walk in soft, white light, with kings and priests abroad,
And summer high, in bliss, upon the hills of God.'"

We now come to that fruitful period of the history of the Church of the Disciples made memorable by the ministry of Charles Gordon Ames. Again we have a great man so closely identified with the life of the church that the story of his ministry is church history.

The feeling of James Freeman Clarke for the friend who became his successor is shown in the following paragraph taken from a letter written by Dr. Clarke to this dear friend in the earlier years of their friendship. He writes:

"Here are you in California and I in Massachusetts, and your scrap of writing makes my heart vibrate, and a thrill of sympathy with you goes through me. So it would be if you were in Sirius and I in Nebula. A glacial period might intervene and encompass the earth with ice, forty miles thick, but it would not freeze up permanently human affections. When thawed out after three hundred and

fifty thousand years, I should yawn and say: 'But where is Ames all this time?' "

The love and admiration of the congregation for its new minister, Charles Gordon Ames, was summed up at the fiftieth anniversary of the church by one of the original members, Mr. Henry Williams:

"Two short years have passed, and we all feel, I think, tonight, that we have been greatly blessed in the choice of a successor to him whose life work was so identified with this society. The strength of the church has been steadily increasing, all its former activities have been kept up, and seventy-four names during this period have been added to our church book. Our new pastor has made for himself a place in our hearts. Besides this, he has always spoken to our reason and intelligence and to our deepest religious convictions. Without these two gains our cup were only half full. These are not words of praise, much less of flattery; they are words of very truth and soberness. I could not say less, and I may not say more in his presence."

How much the more, after twenty-three years of ministry, do similar words of appreciation come to our lips! And how Mrs. Ames's name shines also in retrospect as with

grateful hearts we turn to her at this Seventy-fifth Anniversary season, and try to thank her for all she has been to us! What a wonderful story she could tell us of those California days, those drives among the mountains to visit churches hungering for the Bread of Life. If Dr. Clarke helped the Christian ministry by growing in one place, Dr. Ames helped equally by obeying the call which stirred him to go forth and preach the gospel to every creature. The church needed the steady growth of its founder to enable it to put down its roots securely. It needed the ministry of Charles Gordon Ames that it might grow into a goodly tree. In Dr. Ames's ministry came the great growth of the Disciples Branch of the Woman's Alliance, led by Mrs. Ames. In his ministry came the foundation of the Disciples School, with its graded course of study and its well organized groups of social service. In his ministry came the beginnings of a Committee on Social Service which have since developed into manifold works. Greatest of all in his ministry came the moving of the church to its new home on Peterborough Street without serious loss of membership and with many new gains. In this moving of the church to a new location, Dr. Ames showed remarkable powers

of leadership. At one of the large meetings called in the interest of this undertaking, Dr. Ames spoke so feelingly of his own attachment to the West Brookline Street Church that those who believed in the new plan began to tremble lest he should paint the picture of the past too glowingly. At this moment the speaker became spiritually strong and eloquent, and, standing perfectly erect, in the dignity of his seventy-eight years, declared most fervently: "But I should not consider myself worthy to stand here, as your minister, if, having all these sacred associations with this place, I could not put away my personal feelings, and choose to do courageously and cheerfully what the judgment of long deliberation has convinced me to be for the welfare of this church." The atmosphere of doubt was changed immediately to that of decision, and all left the meeting with the resolution to follow this dear minister of truth and of courage wherever he might go.

Dr. Clarke and Dr. Ames were alike in spirit, but they were different in temperament and in the emphasis of their preaching. Like Dr. Clarke, his successor felt closely the power of the divine sonship in his own soul, which he discloses to us in that exquisite poem,

HIDDEN LIFE

Since Eden it keeps the secret!
  Not a flower beside it knows
To distil from the day the fragrance
  And beauty that floods the rose.

Silently speeds the secret
  From the loving eye of the sun
To the willing heart of the flower;
  The life of the twain is one.

Folded within my being,
  A wonder to me is taught,
Too deep for curious seeing,
  Or fathom of sounding thought.

Of all sweet mysteries holiest!
  Faded are rose and sun!
The Highest hides in the lowliest;
  My Father and I are one!

If one could characterize this beloved minister and friend, would not the story run somewhat like this? He excelled in the great quality of humanness, which was enhanced by his power of elevating by a touch of the spirit the common into the divine. One thinks of Mrs. Browning's tribute to Euripides, so closely does it portray this quality in our minister:

"Our Euripides, the human,
  With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common,
  Till they rose to touch the spheres."

With our minister, the tears did not overflow, but the tenderness of spirit was ever there, which made him look searchingly into the face of his companion or of the passer-by with the inward reminder, "Think of the beggar in the heart."

His spontaneity of spirit and of expression lifted many a dull meeting into life. His love of freedom equalled his love of humanity.

"The sun set, but set not his hope;
Stars rose; his faith was earlier up."

He excelled in epigrammatic speech. In calling upon an over-taxed young mother, he exclaimed, "God's in the air! Inspire!"

In seeing one hesitate to cross a crowded street he encouraged, "The crossings are ours!"

In beholding a small group surrounding him in earnest conversation after a communion service, he admonished, "Enlarge the circle!"

In the place of printing many books were great sermons: "Sermons of Sunrise," "As Natural As Life," "How Souls Grow," and "White Days"; printed addresses on John Brown and Abraham Lincoln; newspaper articles by the hundreds, and spoken addresses here and there and everywhere by the thousands. With Dr. Clarke, he believed in the

higher education of women and in her political emancipation; his voice in behalf of justice for the emancipated slave was ever strong.

A few weeks ago the writer of this paper was asked to speak for five minutes of Charles Gordon Ames. It seemed best to attempt "A Portrait" in verse:

The form erect, the step alert,
  The face aglow with heav'nly light,
Majestic eyes whose deeps assert
  The steady power of second sight.

The active brain, the glowing heart,
  The hand outstretched to others' woe.
The soul rejoicing in its part
  To cheer the saddened, raise the low.

The will by constant practice trained
  To serve,—well-guarded at command,—
With ev'ry faculty restrained
  To measure forth the larger hand.

And yet a spirit so intense
  When Freedom's strongholds bore assault,
He dared risk all in her defence,
  Regardless of reproach or fault.

And, crowning all, a gift of wit
  That served him well for many a mile;
It seemed when he was hardest hit,
'Twas then he surest felt God's smile.

To him all souls were close allied,
  In crowded street or inmost shrine;
Each heart he touched was sanctified
  Beyond the power of mine and thine.

His wizard pen, whose ceaseless flow
  Obeyed a spirit wonder-lit,
Ne'er faltered in the afterglow;
  And every word was "holy writ!"

At threescore years his faith essayed
  To match a task fit for the strong;
The need was great, and, undismayed,
  His blazing torch cheered on the throng.

Disciples blessed with eyes to see
  Were conscious of the new-born power;
They caught his flaming spirit free,
  And sped the purpose of the hour.

Threescore-and-ten! "What of the morn?
  Brave watchman on the towers of truth!"
Fourscore the years; still facing dawn!
  "Good-morrow to this mortal youth!"

And then those Indian-summer days,
  Each Sunday lovelier than the last;
Oh, blessings on Time's soft delays!
  The long, brave pilgrimage is past.

He welcomed to his pulpit free
  A preacher to bear on the torch;
Then, ling'ring, found the mystic sea
  And shores beyond the farthest notch.

Great God, with lifted hearts of prayer
  We pleading ask this highest gift,
That we such ministry might share,
  One humble, human soul uplift;

That this great life now speeding on
  Might bless us in the old-time way:
A life that Plutarch smiled upon,
  Still marshalling his great array.

A life whatever worlds it reach
  Still stands a Christ to humankind;
Forever hears the call to preach,
  Forever seeks th' Eternal Mind.

He preached with unwearying enthusiasm until his eighty-second year, and lived to see the Church of the Disciples firmly planted in its new home in the Fenway.

One day in April, 1912, came the tragic news of the loss of the "Titanic" at sea, and with it the tender, intimate word that our minister in his sheltering home at 12 Chestnut Street had gone to his heavenly rest.

It was so like him to minister to every soul in distress that it may not be wholly fanciful to think of his spirit as ministering to those who in time were so close to him in this great experience of death. It surely was a remarkable coincidence that his first thought of death

in an early poem was the sinking of a ship. He says in "Athanasia":

> "The ship may sink
> And I may drink
> A hasty death in the bitter sea;
> But all that I leave
> In my ocean grave,
> May be slipped and spared and no loss to me!
>
> What care I
> Though fall the sky,
> And the shrivelling earth to a cinder turn;
> No fires of doom
> Can ever consume
> What never was made nor meant to burn.
>
> Let go the breath!
> There is no death
> To the living soul, nor loss, nor harm.
> Not of the clod
> Is the life of God;
> Let it mount as it will from form to form."

It is a significant fact that the two great statements of faith and of covenant most widely used in our Unitarian churches were formulated by the ministers of the Church of the Disciples, James Freeman Clarke and Charles Gordon Ames. We have already spoken of the statement of "Our Faith" by Dr. Clarke. As a companion to this statement, we treasure

the covenant of Dr. Ames upon which so many of our Unitarian churches have been founded:

"In the freedom of truth and in the spirit of Jesus Christ, we unite for the worship of God and the Service of Man."

In a sketch written for our Seventy-fifth Anniversary by George W. Thacher, there is a fine word of tribute to our present minister, and a tender remembrance of the glorious cloud of witnesses, the great ones of the past who walk with us no more. A page from this sketch, which Mr. Thacher calls "A Living Church," may well form the closing of this paper:

"During the last year of the life of Mr. Ames, an associate minister was installed, the third and present minister, Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. In him seems to abide the spirit of those who went before, and under the inspiration of his leadership the society continues its career of usefulness and beneficence. All the branches of its activity are fully alive, while the words spoken from its pulpit each Sunday are quite worthy of comparison with the past, and are well fitted to meet the conditions and demands of the present day. The Oriental element in the minister lends a wonderful charm to his words, and his interpretations of

Scripture, and its imagery, are revelations of clearness and beauty. May his worthy ministry be a long one, and be fraught with ever-growing success!

"As one contemplates the history of three-quarters of a century of what Edward Everett Hale called "this matchless church," what a host of noted men and women are called to mind! Among the immortal forty-three whose names follow that of James Freeman Clarke on the Church Book, April 27, 1841, are those of Nathaniel Peabody, his wife and three daughters, Elizabeth P., Sophia (Mrs. Hawthorne), and Mary (Mrs. Horace Mann); Dr. Walter Channing and George Gibbs Channing, brothers of Dr. William Ellery Channing; Dr. Samuel Cabot, his wife and her nieces, the Misses Cary, afterward well known as Mrs. Agassiz and Mrs. Felton; Ellis Gray Loring and his large-hearted wife; Lucy Goddard, who, among her many acts of service, gave herself unsparingly, till the infirmities of age prevented, to the decoration of the pulpit, in which she showed exquisite taste; Mrs. Isabella M. Weld, who lived to see the society move into its present home, and whose interest never flagged, notwithstanding her great age; and Henry Williams, a well known and much

loved teacher in Boston. Very soon John Albion Andrew became an active member. Prominent among the Sunday-school workers, besides Mr. Andrew, may be mentioned Caroline Healey Dall, Georgina Lowell Putnam, and her cousins, Charles and James Putnam, and Mrs. James T. Fields. Some of the men who assisted the minister in the pulpit, on occasion, were George William Bond, Judge Charles Allen, and Darwin E. Ware.

"One recalls two conspicuous and striking figures in the West Brookline Street congregations during the years when the attendance was large and seats not easily found for late comers. These were J. Huntington Wolcott, father of the Governor, who, with snowy hair and beard, sat in one of the front pews; and, in the body of the church, the fine, strong countenance of Henry Bromfield Rogers. In later years the handsome figure of Governor Wolcott himself was not infrequently seen, sitting with his mother.

"Many remarkable women have belonged to this church, besides those already named. Of the earlier ones were those rare spirits, the minister's mother, Rebecca Hall Clarke, his wife, Anna Huidekoper Clarke, and his sister, Sarah Clarke, the latter a talented artist.

There were also Frances and Margaret Storer, Mrs. Henry Williams, Elizabeth S. Wells, Madam Goddard, 'always so true and ardent a friend'; Susan T. Hillard, 'the most unselfish of human beings' and Barbara Channing, 'whose life was an act of steady generosity.' These tributes were paid by Mr. Clarke himself, and no one knew them better than he. Then came another group of remarkable women, Abby W. May, Julia Ward Howe, Lucia M. Peabody, Lucretia Crocker, and Mary Hemenway.

"Any record of the women of the Church of the Disciples would be incomplete without the name of Marion Josephine Page. Her life was bound up in all that concerned it, and her memory is enshrined in many hearts.

"Time and space would fail one to tell of the Bowditches, Chapins, Calls, Crufts, Higginsons, Lodges, Mays, Tolmans and many more besides, a shining throng! Are not their names written in the Book of Life? 'Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.'"

THE DISCIPLES SCHOOL

The establishment of the Disciples School early in Dr. Ames's ministry was due largely to two forces: the active devotion and wise management of Mrs. Clara B. Beatley and the interest and encouragement of both Dr. and Mrs. Ames.

As a teacher of training and experience, Mrs. Beatley had a vision of what a church school should be, and recognized the principles which were fundamental to her ideas. These ideas made the school unique from the beginning. Every plan for the school was educational, the interest and development of the children being always the first consideration. At the annual meetings of the church, an appropriation made for the expenses of the school made possible the selection of teachers and officers well trained for their tasks, to whom an honorarium was given each year. This was the first instance of its kind, and so far as is known the only one where the appropriation for the church school exceeded that for the music of the church, which is usually considered of greater importance. In organizing, each class remained with a teacher two years, and graduated into the advanced class with

appropriate exercises and recognition at the end of the senior year. The advanced class later became the adult class. But the organization was not completed by the classification of pupils and the arrangement of a course of study. Each class was a club and actively interested in some social service carefully chosen with regard to the group of pupils to be taught. The social affairs of the school also entered into the plan, and preparations were regularly made and carried out for four parties a year. The joy of the participants was the test of the success of these good times.

The devotional spirit and training has been always emphasized. The exercises of the school have been much enriched by the services written for them by Mrs. Beatley, and by her book of collected poems, "Apples of Gold," which is of great inspirational value to teachers and pupils. This collection has been the source of many fine quotations memorized and often repeated during the sessions of the year. Both the book and the services have had a wide circulation.

Thus the school was started, a pioneer movement of its kind. Thus it has progressed nearly a quarter of a century, during which time Mrs. Beatley has shaped the policy of the

school and has been its directing spirit, either as principal or as chairman of the committee on education. During this administration, "Association Day" for acquainting the young people with the work of our American Unitarian Association has been established, and "Andrew Day," in memory of John A. Andrew, has been celebrated by presenting annually a portrait of the great war Governor to a public school of Boston. Twenty portraits have been given. The statement of Our Faith, taken from the sermon of James Freeman Clarke on "The Five Points of the New Theology," was first put forth by this school.

So by teaching and inspiring teachers and pupils, by never neglecting opportunities for progress while holding to the ideals which were prominent in the beginning, Mrs. Beatley has made the Disciples School an important ally of the church and a power for religious education in the lives of all who are connected with it.

MAGNOLIAS

TO J. F. C. — BY C. B. B.

For thee thine own magnolias rare,
These blossoms rosy purple bright,
All white within like lilies fair;
How wonderful the sight!

Each Maytime blooms this radiant tree,
Perchance in answer to thy smile;
Blest messages descend from thee,
To cheer our hearts awhile.

They bid believe "What God" once "gives
He gives forever" to his child;
In faith and hope and love still lives
His mercy ever mild.

They bid us lift our hearts in prayer,
To face our lives with strength and grace;
O brave magnolia blooms so rare,
Our glad thanksgiving trace!

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